

ans. 44<sup>th</sup>. 1901.

NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
MUTINY of the OFFICERS  
OF THE  
ARMY in BENGAL,  
In the Year 1766.

M. 598

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OF THE  
MUTINY of the OFFICERS  
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ARMY in BENGAL,

In the Year 1766.

Written by HENRY STRACHEY, Esq. Secretary to Lord  
CLIVE during his last Expedition to India,

And lately given in Evidence to the

SECRET COMMITTEE of the  
House of Commons.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for T. BECKET, in the Strand ; and J. BROTHERTON,  
and T. SEWELL, in Cornhill.

MDCC LXXIII.

M. 598



## NARRATIVE, &c.

**T**HE mutinous defection of the officers of the army in Bengal, in the year 1766, is an event scarcely to be paralleled in the history of any age or country. In order to give as distinct an account as possible of so confused a scene, it may be necessary to explain the circumstance which is alledged to have given rise to the combination, although the eye of an impartial observer on the spot could not fail to discover, that the licentious disposition of the Company's civil servants not only coincided with, but actually infected the military branch.

It is many years since the East India Company, in consideration of the extraordinary expences and inconveniencies unavoidably incurred during the campaigns in that country, indulged the officers in their service with a certain allowance *per diem*, exclusive of their pay. This allowance originally went, and still goes by the name of "batta," or field expences.

When the English forces took the field, in conjunction with the nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, after the battle of Plassey, our military expences were, agreeably to treaty, defrayed by his excellency, who likewise thought proper to en-



crease the emoluments of the officers, by granting them a double allowance, which of course obtained the name of "double batta;" and lord Clive, at that time, in order that the gentlemen should not too confidently depend upon the continuance of this new bounty, represented to them, that it was merely a temporary indulgence of the nabob, an indulgence not enjoyed by our officers in any other part of India, and could only continue to those in Bengal during his excellency's pleasure. The expence of this double batta however, though first introduced and paid by Jaffier Ally Cawn, was, in process of time, thrown upon the Company; who, unwilling to adopt such an expensive precedent, notwithstanding the revenues of several districts of lands had been assigned over by the nabob to the Company for defraying the charges of the army, repeatedly issued orders, in the most positive terms, that it should be abolished. But the situation of their military and political affairs in Bengal was so frequently critical, and the superior servants in the civil branch so averse, perhaps through want of resolution, to abridge the officers of any emolument, that a remonstrance from the army never failed to convince the governor and council of the impropriety of such a reduction.—It must be remembered, that the accomplishing this business was one of the principal points of reformation pressed upon lord Clive in the year 1764, when, at the request of a general Court of Proprietors of East India stock, he was prevailed upon to accept once more the government of Bengal\*. With resolution and disinterestedness he steadily pursued, from the hour of his arrival at Calcutta,

\* See the order in the Appendix, No. 1.

such measures as seemed best calculated to effect the great purposes of his appointment; and the tranquillity of the country being the necessary ground-work of all other permanent regulations, he concluded, as soon as possible, a general peace throughout the provinces, upon terms both honourable and advantageous to the Company.

The war being ended, it was judged proper to withdraw our forces from the dominions of our new ally, Sujah Dowla, and to quarter them at such places, and in such divisions, as would not only be most conducive to the health of the soldiers, but most convenient for furnishing detachments, which from time to time might be required to assist in the collection of the revenues, or to march upon other accidental services. The whole army was regimented agreeably to the plan proposed by lord Clive, and approved by the Company, before his lordship embarked for India. It was also divided into three brigades, each brigade consisting of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, six battalions of seapoys (or black infantry), and one troop of black cavalry, with field officers in proportion.

The first brigade was ordered to garrison Monghyr (300 miles from Calcutta) under the command of lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher, in the absence of brigadier-general Carnac, who had been called down to the presidency, to take his seat at the select committee, of which the Court of Directors had appointed him a member. The third brigade, commanded by colonel sir Robert Barker, was cantoned at Bankipore, near Patna, about 100 miles beyond Monghyr; and the second brigade, commanded by colonel Smith, was stationed at Allahabad, 200

miles beyond Patna, by the earnest desire of the king and Sujah Dowla, in order to secure them against the invasion of the Morattoes, until they should have sufficiently recruited their own army, which the length of the late war had almost entirely destroyed.

The restoration of peace and public tranquillity, together with the establishment of a more perfect system of military discipline and subordination than could have been effected before the troops were formed into regiments, afforded a favourable opportunity for carrying into execution the Company's instructions relative to the reduction of the batta. Orders were accordingly issued by the select committee to the following effect, viz. That on the 1st of January, 1766, the double batta should cease, excepting with the second brigade, which, on account of the high price of provisions at Allahabad, and the expence of procuring the necessary European articles at so great a distance from the presidency, were to be allowed the double batta in the field, and the old original single batta in cantonments, or in garrison, until they should be recalled within the provinces. For the same reasons, half single batta was to be continued to the troops at Patna and Monghyr; but the rest of the army, not engaged in actual service, we mean the detachments at the presidency, at subordinate factories, and other places, were to be put precisely on a footing with the Company's forces on the coast of Choromandel; that is to say, they were to have no batta at all.

The officers had been too successful in their remonstrances against former orders of the like nature, to omit preferring them upon this occasion. The positive commands of the Company

were, however, urged to them in reply ; nor did lord Clive and the select committee flatter them with any hopes that the indulgence of double batta would be prolonged beyond the time limited. The reduction accordingly took place on the first day of the new year ; the gentlemen of the army, with whatever reluctance, thought proper for the present to acquiesce ; and all complaint seemed to have entirely subsided. But this was only an appearance of submission ; private meetings and consultations were held upon the subject in each brigade ; secret committees were formed, under the denomination of free masons lodges, and means for obtaining redress devised, which seemed to have no other alternative than a mutiny of the whole army, consisting of above 20,000 men, and, in consequence, the extirpation of the English Company in Bengal. They had no idea, perhaps, that things could come to such extremities ; their measures were calculated merely for compelling the administration to a renewal of the batta, by a general resignation of their commissions, without regarding the probable consequences to themselves, or to the public ; and unanimity, they doubted not, would ensure success.

This alarming combination was originally planned in December 1765, or January 1766, at Monghyr, and from thence proposed to the captains and subalterns of the 2d and 3d brigades. The first letter that appears to have been written, was to the officers in garrison at Allahabad, who immediately had a meeting to debate the matter ; at this meeting a letter was also produced from the third brigade. But before they determined upon an answer to either, they wrote to a detachment of their own brigade, encamped at Corah ;

who, considering themselves upon actual service, replied, that they could not in honour immediately join in the defection; but that, after the expiration of their present service, they would not continue to hold their commissions to the prejudice of those gentlemen who should resign. The officers of the same corps at Allahabad, being on duty in a frontier garrison, concluded they were as much upon actual service as those employed in the field, and therefore concurred with the resolution of the Corah detachment. Such was the purport of the answer sent to the third brigade, with a request that it might be communicated by them to the first. This state of neutrality, however, was not long preserved: the sentiments of honour in the second brigade soon gave way to the general infatuation, as if the number of actors sufficiently justified the action; and these gentlemen, who in the beginning were restrained by some degree of principle, grew in the end as outrageous, and went even greater lengths than either of the other two brigades.

In each brigade a committee of correspondence was appointed, with full authority to answer all letters that might come from their associates, and to agree to, as well as to propose such measures as they should think proper. Near two hundred commissions of captains and subalterns were in a short time collected, and lodged in the hands of the adjutants and quarter-masters, in order to be delivered to the commanding officers of the respective brigades; on the 1st of June, which was the day fixed upon for the general resignation; though, to give a colour of moderation to their proceedings, they determined to make an offer of their services as volunteers till the 15th of the same month, by which time they imagined a final  
answer

answer might be obtained from lord Clive, or the select committee, in their favour. All officers upon detached parties, of whom there were a considerable number in various and distant parts of the country, were written to by their particular friends, or in the name of the brigade to which they belonged, earnestly pressing them to enter into the combination, and not to divulge the affair. With regard to those who were present doing duty with their respective brigades, they bound themselves by a solemn oath to secrecy, and kept it so strictly, that even the field officers upon the spot entertained not the least suspicion of what was going forward. They were likewise sworn to preserve, even at the hazard of their own lives, the life of any officer whom the rigour of a court martial might condemn to death. But in order, as far as possible, to avoid incurring the penalties of mutiny and desertion, they determined to refuse their usual advance of pay for the month of June.

As an expedient to prevent any recantation in this conspiracy, each officer bound himself in a penalty bond of 500 l. not to re-accept his commission, if offered, except upon condition of having the allowance of double batta restored\*: and, to obviate the misfortune of lord Clive's proving so resolute as to reject their demands, a subscription was raised amongst themselves, each subscribing in proportion to his rank: besides which, a considerable sum is said to have been contributed privately by gentlemen in the civil service, in aid of the military cause. These monies, together with such forfeitures of the 500 l. penalty abovementioned as might be in-

\* See Appendix, No. 2.

curred and levied, were to establish a fund for the maintenance of those who stood in need of it, in case all the commissions should be accepted, or of those who might be pointed out as principals, and dismissed the service, even though the army in general should be requested to resume their commissions, and the double batta be re-established upon its former footing. By the same means the expences of their voyage to Europe were to be defrayed, and commissions of equal rank purchased in the king's regiments; to which they never supposed their mode of relinquishing the Company's service would prove the least obstruction.

The plot was thus ripening, when a circumstance occurred, which could not but inspire them with additional hopes of success, since it seemed to prognosticate an occasion for the service of at least one entire brigade, about the very time fixed upon for the general resignation. This circumstance was the sudden approach of between fifty and sixty thousand Morattoes towards the frontiers of Corah, about one hundred and fifty miles from Allahabad; and whether their intentions were to invade the provinces, or to march to Delhi, was yet unknown; at all events, however, it was judged expedient, that colonel Smith, with the whole of the second brigade (except the European regiment, which it was not thought proper to risk in the field during the excessive heats of April and May, and which therefore was left to do garrison duty at Allahabad) should take post at Seragepore, where he was accordingly ordered to encamp, and observe the motions of the suspected army.

Such was the situation of affairs in March 1766, when lord Clive and general Carnac set out

out from Calcutta, in order to regulate, with Mr. Sykes, (resident at the nabob's court) the collections of the revenues, at Muxadavad and Patna, for the year ensuing; to receive from Sujah Dowla the balance due of the fifty lacks of rupees (600,000 l.) stipulated by treaty in August 1765; and to hold a congress with those princes of the empire who were desirous of forming alliances to preserve themselves and the Company from the incursions of the Morattoes.

Lord Clive arrived early in April 1766 at Muxadavad, and was now adjusting the state of the revenues of Bengal, which was to complete his business at the city, when he received a letter, dated the 19th of that month, from Mr. Verelst, a gentleman in council at Calcutta, enclosing a remonstrance from the officers of the third brigade relative to the reduction of the batta; representing in very exaggerated terms the high price of provisions, necessaries, &c. ; and requesting that the late double allowance might be continued. The board thought proper to defer sending any answer to this until they could obtain lord Clive's sentiments. He, without delay, communicated his opinion to Mr. Verelst; that the remonstrance, if it had not been transmitted thro' the commanding officer, nor accompanied with a letter to the governor and council, should be sent to colonel sir Robert Barker for his information, acquainting him at the same time, that the board did not intend to take any other cognizance of a paper so irregularly brought before them. But, lest it might have been regularly transmitted, lord Clive proposed in that case, that an answer should be sent, similar to that already given to the like remonstrances, which had been made when the orders for striking off the batta were issued;



issued ; with this addition however, that it was observed, the paper was subscribed by several lieutenants of the seapoy battalions, who have each an extra allowance of two rupees per diem, which, with their pay and single batta (amounting in the whole to 248 rupees, or £. 30. 15s. 2d  $\frac{1}{4}$  sterling, per month) could not be deemed an uncomfortable subsistence. A copy of the remonstrance, and also an extract of lord Clive's letter to Mr. Verelst, upon the subject, are inserted in the Appendix, No. 3. and No. 4.

Although a table of the price of provisions and European articles cannot with any precision be ascertained, yet it may not be improper to remark, that the former are much cheaper in Bengal than on the coast of Choromandel, where double batta was never known ; that the latter are dearer only in proportion to the small difference of distance between those two places and Great Britain ; and that the expence of transporting necessaries from Calcutta to any part of Bengal cannot be so great as on the coast of Choromandel, because the whole country is intersected with navigable rivers. Luxury indeed is boundless ; and hence arise the imaginary wants, and the real distresses, of officers on the Bengal establishment. The distribution of pay and allowances, (Appendix No. 5,) will give a just idea of the advantages accruing to military gentlemen in the service of the English Company in that part of India ; advantages much greater, it is presumed, than those of any other forces in any part of the world.

Hitherto no suspicion had arisen of the intended resignation, as even this last remonstrance was perfectly silent on that head. It was not till the 28th of the same month (April) late in the evening, that lord Clive received any advices whatsoever

soever of the mutinous resolution that had been several months in agitation; and it is to be observed, that the first information came from lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, who in a letter, dated Monghyr, 25th April, acquainted his lordship, that the officers of the first brigade seemed resolved on another attempt for the recovery of the batta; that their commissions were to be sent to him at the end of the month, together with a letter, informing him, that they would not draw any pay for the month of May, but would continue to serve until the affair should be finally determined for or against them. To give a farther insight into the matter, he enclosed a letter he had the day before received from sir Robert Barker, together with a copy of his answer. These three letters are entered in the Appendix, No. 6, 7, and 8, as also lord Clive's answer, No. 9.

In the abovementioned letter from sir Robert Barker to sir Robert Fletcher, is mentioned a quarrel between two officers at Bankipore; their names were Duff and Davis, the former a captain, the latter an ensign, in the third brigade. At a general court martial, which had been held upon one of these gentlemen, in consequence of the setting fire to the quarters, it appeared that the dispute arose from ensign Davis's refusing to give up his commission to captain Duff, who would have forced it from him. Sir Robert Barker, upon examining into the reason of so strange a transaction, to his great surprize became acquainted with the combination, which had been formed in the third brigade, during his absence upon an expedition to Bettea. This premature discovery very much disconcerted the officers, as the first of June had been fixed upon for the general resignation; and it was not proposed that their intentions

tions should transpire before that day. It now however became necessary for them to make some alteration in their plan, in order that lord Clive and the select committee should not have time to counteract and defeat it. The first and third brigades accordingly resolved to resign on the first of May; but the second brigade, being at so great a distance, could not receive information of this change of measures early enough to resign on the same day, though the mutinous spirit broke out in camp within a week after.

The succeeding day's post to that which brought the intelligence from sir Robert Fletcher to lord Clive, brought a letter dated from the camp at Corah, the 15th of April, signed Full Batta, to an officer of the second brigade, who had attended his lordship from Calcutta, and was then with him at Mutejyl. The contents of this very extraordinary letter \* were immediately communicated to lord Clive, who was now fully convinced that the combination was general; though he judged it was not likely that so considerable a number of thinking men should long continue unanimous in a cause, not only highly criminal in itself, but which, upon failure of success, would involve many of them in inevitable ruin. Some few there might be to whom comfortable fortunes, already acquired in the service, might render the resignation of their commissions a matter of indifference; but many, on the contrary, he knew there were, whose circumstances, whose youth, or whose extravagance, could not bear that they should voluntarily relinquish the only means of present subsistence, and be also cut off from every prospect of obtaining an happy independency. How far

\* See Appendix, No. 10.

indeed the resolution of men rendered desperate by disappointment and impending ruin might be carried, could not easily be determined: the troops might follow their example, and a general mutiny ensue: an armed force from the coast, or from England, would in that case, perhaps, have been the only remedy left. On the contrary, to grant a request, demanded as it were sword in hand, would have been a condescension, not only repugnant to the character his lordship had hitherto supported, and subversive of his authority as governor and commander in chief, but might have been attended with the worst of evils, for when threats in this instance should have been found successful, subordination and discipline would have been openly disavowed, demands of a more exorbitant and serious nature might have followed, the civil government might at length have been totally overthrown by the military, and the very existence of the company in Bengal destroyed. Submission therefore on the part of lord Clive would not bear a moment's deliberation. He had a few officers in his suite whom he could depend upon; a few others he concluded might be had from Calcutta, and the out-factories; and some of the free merchants, it was imagined, would, in case of necessity, accept of commissions. He determined likewise to leave the city as soon as the important business he was transacting would permit, and to endeavour to reach Monghyr before the 15th of May. By these means he was in no doubt of being able to retain command over the soldiers, till a corps of officers could arrive from the presidency of Fort St. George.

Lord Clive, general Carnac, and Mr. Sykes, forming a select committee, met in consultation on the morning

morning of the 29th, and determining that the demands of the army ought not to be complied with, dispatched an express \* to the council at Calcutta, requesting they would without delay acquaint the government of Madras with the disposition of the officers, and press them to issue orders to as many captains and subalterns as could possibly be spared from immediate service on the coast of Choromandel, and likewise to such cadets, and others, as might be thought qualified to bear commissions, to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Bengal on the shortest notice. The council were unanimous in the measure suggested by the committee, and on the first of May sent off their dispatch to fort St. George†. General Caillaud was at this time gone to the northward, to accommodate, either by negotiation or force of arms, the disputes between the nabob of Arcot and the subah of the Decan; and as it might be necessary for the governor and council at Madras to have his opinion, how far the request from Bengal could be complied with, Mr. Verelst transmitted to the general a copy of the last mentioned letter, which proved the means of expediting the preparations for the supply required.

Lord Clive in the mean time wrote to ‡ colonel Smith, sir Robert Barker, and sir Robert Fletcher, upon the subject of the association, enclosing to each a copy of the letter written by the select committee to the council at Calcutta (No. 11.) that they might have full information of the measures intended; at the same time giving them authority to make public his sentiments, if they were likely to have any good effect. From this time to the second

\* See Appendix, No. 11.

† See Appendix, No. 12.

‡ See Appendix, No. 13.

of May, no farther intelligence was received.— The silence of colonel Smith, and sir Robert Barker, gave his lordship some hopes, as he expressed himself that day in a letter to Mr. Verelst, “ that the officers had maturely deliberated upon “ their scheme, and found it not very conveni- “ ently practicable;” adding, “ I can hardly “ think, that seeing us steady in our resolution, “ they will venture to brave the consequences. “ The firmness with which we have hitherto sup- “ ported our civil regulations, must leave them “ without a prospect of remissness in those of the “ military.”

A few hours, however, brought him a letter from sir Robert Barker, dated the 27th of April \*, which convinced him, that the third brigade was as unanimous as the first. In his answer †, he directed sir Robert Barker to find out, if possible, the person in whose hands the commissions were deposited, to put in arrest those officers whose conduct could come under the construction of mutiny, and to detain them prisoners at Bankipore, till a general court martial of field officers could be summoned; since a trial by their comrades would have been very ineffectual, and it was too evident, that unless the severity of martial law were exerted to punish the principal instigators of this combination, there would soon be an end of discipline in the army, and of authority in the East India company over all their servants. The like instructions were at the same time sent to colonel Smith, and to sir Robert Fletcher ‡. In the postscript of these letters, is mentioned a letter signed First Brigade. It was

\* See Appendix, No. 14.

† See Appendix, No. 15.

‡ See Appendix, No. 16.

addressed

addressed to captains Fred. Smith, and Thomas Pearson, the one aid de camp, the other secretary to general Carnac; and the contents are as follows :

“ Gentlemen,

“ We are now to inform you, that all the officers here, and those at Patna and Allahabad, (except a few, and those pimps to power too) have resolved to resign the service the first day of May next, unless the batta is restored to what it was in July and August 1763; and request that you will concur with us in refusing to serve but upon those terms. This is no hasty ill-conducted scheme, but the settled resolution of the THREE BRIGADES, who are, to a man, resolved to send every officer to everlasting Coventry, who refuses to join in a cause so just and honourable. We therefore beg that you will, immediately upon receipt of this, transmit your sentiments to some of your friends here, who may communicate them to us. We further beg, that you will consider maturely on this subject before you come to any resolution; for depend upon it, we are determined to go through with it, at the risk of life, fortune, friends, and every thing that is dear and sacred. The gentlemen at Moradbaug may be able to inform you of material circumstances.—Till we have your answer, we are truly and sincerely

“ Monghyr,

“ Your friends

27 April 1766.

The First Brigade.”

The gentlemen at Moradbaug, mentioned in this letter, belonged to a considerable detachment doing

doing duty at the city. They were all this time deeply concerned in the combination ; but lord Clive being upon the spot, made them sensible of their folly, and prevented them from throwing up their commissions.

On the 29th of April, sir Robert Barker \* wrote again to lord Clive, acquainting his lordship with his more full conviction of the determination of the officers, and with the measures he was pursuing, not only to shake it, but to prevent any alarming consequences, when it should come to an issue, altho' hitherto no disposition to mutiny had appeared among the private men of his brigade. This could not fail giving satisfaction. But lord Clive was under some uneasiness on account of the garrison at Monghyr, where he had reason to think the whole scheme had been originally planned ; and sir Robert Fletcher's silence added much to his anxiety, for it was now the 4th of May, and the only letter he had received from that gentleman upon the subject, was dated the 25th of April ; he therefore thought proper to repeat his former injunctions, that sir Robert Fletcher should inform himself of the names of the principals, and of as many particulars as possible relating to the association ; directing him at the same time to take the most effectual means of securing the fidelity of the subadars, or commanding officers of the black troops, in case the European soldiers, or the seapoys, had betrayed any symptoms of disaffection. However, before these instructions were dispatched, a letter arrived from sir Robert Fletcher, dated the 1st of May, enclosing one to him from 42 of his officers, together with a copy of his answer, and al-

\* See Appendix, No. 17.



To a letter to him from sir Robert Barker, all which may be seen in the Appendix, No. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. The letter from the officers was accompanied by their commissions, which they requested sir Robert would keep, till an answer should arrive from those who had the power of granting their demands; and in the mean time they assured him, that as they resigned from principle, they resolved to serve without pay of any kind, till the 15th.

This actual resignation of the officers of the 1st brigade no longer permitted lord Clive to doubt, that the other two brigades would with like punctuality comply with the terms of the association. A supply from Fort St. George, and likewise the assistance of the free merchants, became immediately necessary. The letter in the Appendix, No. 23, to the gentlemen of council at Calcutta, enclosing the officers address to sir Robert Fletcher, was therefore dispatched without delay. The next day (5th May) a letter from sir Robert Barker, dated 30th April \*, informed lord Clive, that on the 29th the officers of his brigade had made him acquainted with their resolution to resign their commissions on the first of May, though they were willing to serve without either pay or batta till the 15th, by which time they supposed lord Clive would reach Patna, or write his answer to their demands. Sir Robert Barker, after having assembled the officers, represented to them, that the crime they were committing was no less than mutiny and desertion; and that he hoped, for their own sakes, they would reflect upon the consequences, and relinquish a project, which, if persisted in, would

\* See Appendix, No. 24.

certainly

certainly bring ruin and dishonour upon themselves.—Arguments of this kind, from a commanding officer universally beloved, could not fail making some impression on their minds ; but at the close of the conference they declared, “ That they were solemnly bound and engaged “ with the other brigades, to offer their commissions on the 1st of May, and that they “ could not be off.”

Sir Robert Barker, having been informed that the men at Monghyr had expressed their resolution to mutiny, repeated to Lord Clive his apprehension of it, and mentioned also an information he had received, that a sum to the amount of 140,000 rupees, near (£. 16,000 sterling) was subscribed for the officers by the gentlemen of Calcutta.

These circumstances it was thought necessary to communicate to the council\*, not only that they might be apprized of the progress of the combination, but that they might exert their endeavours to discover those gentlemen in the civil service, who had granted such large encouragement to the mutinous disposition of the army.

Lord Clive then acquainted Sir Robert Fletcher with Sir Robert Barker's doubts concerning the men of the 1st brigade†, charging him to act with all possible circumspection, and authorizing him to engage the attachment of the non-commission officers by assurances of reward, if he should see a necessity of putting their behaviour to the test ; he further directed him to make such necessary preparations as could be made without creating suspicion, for detaching the troops in small parties at a moment's warning, and with

\* See Appendix, No. 25.

† See Appendix, No. 26.

the like caution to collect boats for conveying the officers to Calcutta ; since he was determined, that if he found them refractory, on his arrival at Monghyr, they should be forced to depart within 24 hours. A letter of the same date, and to the same purport, was also dispatched to sir Robert Barker \*.

By a letter of the 2d of May, sir Robert Fletcher acquainted lord Clive, that he was convinced no disturbance could happen, even if the troops knew the conduct of their officers ; but that however, for the sake of amusement and a fresh subject of conversation, he had marched half the brigade to the distance of two miles from the fort, under pretence of reducing some strong mud forts at Carrucpoor. In answer to this, lord Clive ordered him immediately to secure the captains who had been most active, and to send them down prisoners to Calcutta †.

The sentiments of the officers of the 3d brigade, who were absent upon detachments, were not certainly known ; but between 50 and 60 of those present, in cantonments at Bankipore, kept strictly to their engagement. On the 1st of May in the forenoon, sir Robert Barker received the following laconic epistle from his adjutant ;

“ Sir,

“ The enclosed letters were just now brought to me ; one of them, directed to you, I send by desire of the officers of the 3d brigade ; the other, I believe, you will think not improperly added.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ May 1st 1766.

F. Robertson, adjutant.”

\* See Appendix, No. 27.

† See Appendix, No. 28.

The letter directed to sir Robert Barker, which Mr. Robertson enclosed (and which sir Robert returned \*, with an assurance that he would put the severity of military law in execution, if any man should misbehave) was signed, "Officers of the 3d Brigade." It contained a repetition of their grievances, and terms of future service, some expressions of personal regard for the colonel, and a readiness to act as volunteers, and obey orders, till the 15th of the month, when they expected to be made acquainted with lord Clive's definitive answer. The other letter, which Mr. Robertson mentions to be "not improperly added," was the packet of commissions, together with his authority for sending them; which was as follows;

To ensign Robertson,

" Sir,

" We desire that you will, before 12 o'clock to-day, send our commissions to sir Robert Barker, colonel of the 3d brigade, together with the enclosed letter.

" May 1st 1766,

" We are

" 11 o'clock,

Your obedient servants,

A. M.

Officers of the 3d Brigade."

Sir Robert Barker had before suspected what was now sufficiently certain, that the adjutant was a principal and active member of the association. He therefore intimated to him upon the parade, that he should order him down to Calcutta; in consequence of which intimation, Mr. Robertson thought fit to write him the following letter:

" Sir,

" I did not well understand what last you spoke to me on the parade, whether it was, that you

\* See Appendix, No. 29.

" meant to send me a prisoner to Calcutta, or  
 " that you expected I would go because you de-  
 " sired it. If the first, 'tis well; if the latter, I  
 " must acquaint you that I, without having done  
 " any thing unmilitary or improper, resigned the  
 " service this morning, releasing myself from  
 " military orders. You accepted, examined, but  
 " chose to return the commissions, 'mongst which  
 " mine was one. If I have done wrong, I must  
 " be brought before the civil power, having  
 " freed myself from all military restrictions.

" To leave this immediately will be to lose  
 " all that I am worth; so that 'twill be necessary  
 " to send me a prisoner, that I may know where  
 " to apply hereafter for restitution.

" I am, Sir,

" Your obedient humble servant,

F. Robertson."

This letter did not intimidate sir Robert Barker from forcing Mr. Robertson, and three other ringleaders, to proceed immediately to Calcutta; a measure which contributed much to the preserving good order and discipline in his brigade till the 15th of May.

As the affairs of the army were now become very critical, lord Clive determined to leave the business at the city unfinished, to the management of Mr. Sykes, and to march with all possible expedition to Monghyr, which place he proposed reaching on the 14th at latest. On the evening of the 6th he accordingly set out from Mutajyl, accompanied by general Carnac, and the few officers belonging to the body guard and escort of seapoys. Majors Champion and Polier, and captains Smith, Pearson, and Martin, who were all the officers that could be collected at so short notice,

tice, and whose attachment to the service, as well as steady adherence to discipline, might securely be relied on, were ordered forward, to proceed with the utmost haste to the assistance of sir Robert Fletcher.

Lord Clive, that night, at Sydokbaug, 12 miles from Mutajyl, received a letter from sir Robert Fletcher, dated 3d of May \*, acquainting him, that " he had used every argument in " his power to persuade the officers to a change " of conduct, but that they had severally told " him, they were determined to abide by what " they had done." By an enclosed letter to his brother, a captain at Madrafs, (open for his lordship's perusal) it appeared, that the gentlemen intended to write to their military friends at Fort Saint George, to prevail upon them to reject all proposals that might be made for their removal to Bengal. This scheme was evidently calculated to bring additional distress upon the government, and thereby to compel lord Clive into terms of accommodation. But in order to counteract the meditated mischief, a letter was immediately dispatched to the council at Calcutta †, requesting they would, for a time, stop all private letters to and from Madrafs, except such as could not be suspected to relate to the combination. And, as a communication of sentiments, from one part of the army to another, might at this juncture prove extremely dangerous, it was further proposed, that the like caution should be used at the post-office at Calcutta.

During the next day's journey, lord Clive had an account from sir Robert Fletcher, that he had again remonstrated to no purpose with the gentle-

\* See Appendix, No. 30.

† See Appendix, No. 31.

men of his brigade ; that they were rather more inflamed ; that they flattered themselves their letters to Madras would have the desired effect ; and that it was now artfully insinuated, a mutiny of the men was already planned, and would inevitably happen, if the officers should be dismissed. A copy of this letter, together with his lordship's answer, is entered in the Appendix, No. 32 and 33.—No. 34 is an extract of a letter from lord Clive to sir Robert Barker, the 8th of May.

The day following, lord Clive learnt from sir Robert Fletcher \*, that he had sent to Calcutta a captain and a lieutenant †, upon suspicion of their having been the most active in forming the combination ; but that he was persuaded every precaution had been used to conceal the principals. The gentlemen however of this brigade, as well as of the 3d, still continued to do duty, though their resolution in the main point was not altered ; and by the conversation of the latter, sir Robert Barker understood, that upon his refusing to accept their commissions, they had sent them by the post to Calcutta ; nor was he deceived, for on the 2d day's march, lord Clive met an express with a very large packet, addressed to the governor and council, which upon being opened was found to contain the commissions of that brigade, together with a general letter of resignation, dated the 1st of May. Lord Clive detained the commissions in his own custody, and forwarded the letter to the board.

During these transactions, the council at the presidency had received, and taken into consid-

\* See Appendix, No. 35.

† Note, This gentleman was lately appointed to the rank of factor in the civil service at Bengal.

deration,

deration, the committee's dispatch of the 4<sup>th</sup> (Appendix, No. 23.) The association of the officers being fully confirmed, and those of the first brigade having actually tendered their commissions, the board unanimously resolved, agreeably to an intimation given them by lord Clive, that a letter should be written to sir Robert Fletcher, or officer commanding at Monghyr, expressing their sense of such an extraordinary and unwarrantable proceeding; authorising him to accept of as many commissions as were offered, and to order down to Calcutta, within the space of 24 hours, every man who had resigned the service; since no confidence could prudently be placed in the zeal of those who had deserted their duty in a manner so inconsistent with the character of officers and gentlemen\*. They farther resolved, that the said letter should be transmitted through the hands of lord Clive and general Carnac, in order that it might have sanction of their names; and that an express should be sent to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay†; urging the necessity of their united efforts to assist Bengal in this emergency, and requesting they would, without loss of time, embark all the officers, cadets, and others, that could possibly be spared, agreeably to the former letters from that board.

In the mean time, the council, in consequence of the request of the committee, applied to the free merchants, requiring them to give their assistance on the present defection of officers, till the vacant commissions could be filled up. Astonishing as it may appear, it is however an incontestable truth, that out of near one hundred of these gentlemen resident at Calcutta, neither dis-

\* See Appendix, No. 36.

† See Appendix, 37.



qualified by age nor infirmity, two only were found who would accept commissions upon this very important occasion, notwithstanding they knew the service intended was merely parade duty; that even this would last but a few weeks; and that the faith of the governor and council was pledged to allow them the privilege of trade, duty free; and to recommend them to the Court of Directors for a more essential reward of their attachment to the Company's welfare \*. The trifling excuses made by so considerable a number of those gentlemen, amounted at least to an approbation of the conduct of the officers, if it did not confirm the truth of the information, that a subscription was raised in Calcutta for the support of the military combination.

On the 10th of May lord Clive and general Carnac received, at Siccaragully, the letter from the council to the officer commanding at Monghyr †. This they immediately signed, and dispatched to sir Robert Fletcher, with some private instructions for his conduct ‡. A copy of it was at the same time sent to sir Robert Barker, that he might intimate to the officers of the 3d brigade, the unanimous resolution of the board upon the proceedings of those of the 1st §.

On the 11th a letter arrived from colonel Smith, dated 29th of April, advising, that a considerable detachment of the Morattoo army was in motion; that they had advanced down the southern shore of the Jumna, opposite to the territories of Corah; and that Ballagarow, one of the chiefs, with sixty thousand horse, was arrived at Culpy, where he was collecting a large number of boats. This letter was addressed to the select committee; but

\* See Appendix, No. 38.

† See Appendix, 39.

‡ See Appendix, 36.

§ See Appendix, 40.

the critical situation of affairs would admit of no delay in the reply; and the colonel was evidently yet unacquainted with the intended desertion of his officers. Lord Clive therefore hesitated not to invest him with full authority to act, in respect to forming alliances with neighbouring princes, in such manner as the emergency of affairs might require ‡: and as the resignation of his officers, at the time of the enemy's nearer approach, might be attended with the most fatal consequences, his lordship empowered the colonel, provided he should judge that the troops were ripe for mutiny, and thereby find himself reduced to the utmost extremity, but under no other circumstances whatsoever, to make terms with the malcontents.

This day and the next, lord Clive received farther accounts from sir Robert Fletcher, expressing the highest opinion of the fidelity of his troops, insomuch that, " he would stake his life " upon their good behaviour, notwithstanding " the apprehensions entertained by sir Robert " Barker." He observed, that the worst which could happen was a mutiny amongst the Europeans, who were so inconsiderable in number, that he would put every man of them to death by the seapoys, before they could get a cartridge from the magazine, or indeed before they could form themselves under arms, his own quarters being so near the batracks, that he could almost overhear every thing that passed.

Confident as these assurances were, lord Clive thought it expedient to pursue his journey with the utmost expedition, although the heat at this season of the year was so insupportable, that

‡ See Appendix, No. 41.

many of the men had already died upon the march; but it was necessary to reach Monghyr, if possible, before the departure of the officers; and he was now within one day's journey of the place, when early in the morning of the 13th, his progress was delayed by a sudden fall of waters from the mountains, which carried away a bridge that had been thrown over a branch of the river he was obliged to pass; the stream of which was now so extremely deep and rapid, that it could not be forded, even upon elephants, till late in the evening. A whole day was thus unavoidably lost †. Repeated advices however from sir Robert Fletcher flattered his lordship, that no disturbance would arise among the troops in garrison: he hoped indeed that the officers would remain quiet till his arrival; but at all events sir Robert could not now be much distressed, as the gentlemen who pushed forward from Mutajyl were already arrived to his assistance, and the letter from the governor and council contained sufficient instructions for his conduct.

On the 14th, sir Robert informed his lordship ‡, that he had begun the embarkation of the captains, and had appointed a surgeon's assistant, 2 cadets, and a sergeant, to act as ensigns, in order to convince the subalterns that the brigade would not be entirely destitute of officers. Soon after, upon the receipt of lord Clive's letter of the 13th, he invited the gentlemen to do duty a day longer. But some of them began now to be very troublesome; and appeared to intend encamping till the arrival of their associates from the other brigades §.

† See Appendix, No. 42.

§ See Appendix, No. 44.

‡ See Appendix, No. 43.

The description of affairs at Monghyr has, to this period, been collected only from sir Robert Fletcher. It may, however, be not improper to take a view of them from the officers who were detached thither from Mutajyl.

On the arrival of these gentlemen at Monghyr, the 12th of May, about 9 o'clock at night, they were surprised to hear the grenadier's march beating, and then the *réveille*. When they came to sir Robert Fletcher's quarters, they there found half the European regiment assembled, and singing, and the drums beating.

The next day they severally visited the officers of their acquaintance, in hopes of prevailing upon them to relinquish the dishonourable project they had so rashly engaged in, or at least to continue doing duty till the arrival of lord Clive and general Carnac.

They represented the infamy and the ruin that would attend them, if they should in this manner desert the service: that a combination to resign their commissions all on the same day could be considered as no less a crime than mutiny: that if the soldiers should be tempted to follow their example, the mischief would not end without bloodshed, and the murder of many of their countrymen: that lord Clive came firmly resolved not to yield up the point to them, and would rather suffer death than condescend to make terms with a set of men who were endeavouring to abolish all military discipline and subordination. They farther remonstrated upon the ingratitude of their behaviour to his lordship, who had lately given to the amount of near 70,000 l.†

† A legacy of five lacks of rupees bequeathed to lord Clive by the old nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, who died three months before his lordship's arrival at Bengal.

as a fund for the support of all officers and men who should be disabled, or worn out in the service, and likewise for the maintenance of their widows.

In answer to these arguments the officers declared, that they were solemnly bound to quit the brigade, whatever might be the consequence: that they had imagined unanimity in the measure must have ensured success; but that, could they have supposed lord Clive so inflexible, they would never have formed the combination. That as to his lordship's generous donation to the army, they were entirely ignorant of it, sir Robert Fletcher not having communicated to them a syllable of the matter; and that, had they been informed of it, gratitude, as well as self-interest, would certainly have prevented their present conduct. They then alledged, that sir Robert himself originally set this combination on foot, artfully making them the instruments of an opposition to lord Clive's government: they acknowledged the probability of a mutiny amongst the soldiers; but declared, at the same time, that should it happen, they would exert their utmost endeavours to quell it. Several of them, particularly captain Goddard, lamented the want of an opportunity to acquaint lord Clive and general Carnac with the part sir Robert Fletcher had acted, in beginning and promoting this unfortunate affair; but desired major Champion, and captains Smith and Pearson, would not fail to report their assertions, the truth of which they said they were well able to prove.

On the 13th, major Champion and captain Pearson were ordered out to the camp at Carucpoor, two miles from Monghyr fort. The rest of lord Clive's detachment of officers remain-

ed

ed in garrison, to be ready in case of a mutiny of the Europeans, which began now to be apprehended. At eleven o'clock at night, two battalions of seapoys were marched, under command of captain Smith, to the exercising ground, where they lay upon their arms till morning; when the captain proposed to sir Robert Fletcher, that they should return to their own parade, not only as it commanded the principal gates, but as detachments could be more readily made from thence to different parts of the garrison; and that, in order to obviate any suspicion, it should be given out, that lord Clive being hourly expected, it was necessary to keep the seapoys in the fort, lest they should straggle, and not be quickly drawn up on his lordship's arrival. This advice was immediately followed.

In the afternoon captain Smith received an order from sir Robert Fletcher to get the two battalions under arms, and to march with all possible expedition to the European barracks, the soldiers having mutinied. The captain had neither subaltern nor sergeant to assist him.—One of the resigned officers happening at that moment to come on the parade, the captain ordered him to take the command of one of the battalions, but finding that he hesitated to obey, he turned from him, and gave the command of it to a black commandant, taking charge of the other himself. As the mutiny was not unexpected, he had previously taken a view of the ground near the barracks. Adjoining to these is a hill, whereon stands the saluting battery, which he was apprehensive the mutineers would endeavour to seize. To avoid any signal of his approach, he gave orders that the battalions should march in the profoundest silence. Instead of proceeding the com-  
mon

mon road, round the hill, he got up the back of it, and suddenly took possession of the battery, by which means he had the full command of all the barracks. The soldiers had actually got under arms, intending to follow their officers, and the artillery were preparing to do the same; but the appearance of those two battalions of seapoys, with fixed bayonets, threw them into some confusion, of which captain Smith took the advantage, and told them he would immediately fire upon them, if they did not retire peaceably to their quarters. Sir Robert Fletcher also, who was now arrived, harangued and distributed money amongst the mutineers, and gave likewise to each of them two rupees. They assured him they had been made to believe that he was to head them, otherwise not a man would have thought of turning out; adding, that if that was not the case, they would not mind their officers, but live and die with him alone. Whilst Sir Robert was talking to the men, several of the officers came and told him, that as they heard the Europeans had mutinied, they were willing to offer him their assistance. This he refused, and ordered them all to quit the garrison within the space of two hours, under pain of being sent off with guards. Before six o'clock they accordingly departed; three only of the whole brigade were left, two of whom were then confined to their beds. Sir Robert Fletcher's own account of this last transaction appears in his letter of that night to Lord Clive†, in which is the following very extraordinary paragraph:

“ Some have been very troublesome, and particularly those whom I have all along suspected,

† See Appendix, No. 45.

“ and whose confidence I used every art to gain  
 “ in *Januery last, when I heard that the whole were*  
 “ *to form a plan of quitting the brigades without giv-*  
 “ *ing any warning. I even went so far as to ap-*  
 “ *prove of some of their schemes, that they might do*  
 “ *nothing without my knowledge.*” After perusal  
 of this, it will naturally be recollected, that the  
 earliest intelligence given by sir Robert Fletcher,  
 of the combination of his officers, was in his let-  
 ter to lord Clive, dated 25th April, six days only  
 before the day of resignation.

In the morning of the 15th of May, lord Clive  
 and general Carnac arrived at Monghyr, where  
 they were immediately informed of all the cir-  
 cumstances above related. Sir Robert Fletcher the  
 same day took an opportunity, in conversation  
 with lord Clive, to repeat the matter of his letter  
 to his lordship of the 14th of May, above quoted.  
 But upon this subject, lord Clive, for reasons  
 which will hereafter be mentioned, did not  
 think proper at that time to express any dissatis-  
 faction.

Orders were issued that night for the whole  
 brigade to be drawn out next day, lord Clive in-  
 tending to review them. Early in the morning of  
 the 16th, he accordingly went to the parade,  
 where the men appeared in very good order, but  
 with very few officers. The European soldiers  
 required his first attention; he therefore addressed  
 himself to them in the strongest terms: he repre-  
 sented to them the heinousness of the crime their  
 officers had committed; explained to them the  
 grounds upon which the disaffection had arisen;  
 informed them that the double batta was merely  
 an occasional extraordinary allowance, and never  
 till now looked upon, much less demanded, as a  
 right; that the withholding it was an act of the



Company, the governor and council having therein only obeyed the positive commands of the Court of Directors; that the combination which the gentlemen of this brigade had formed, to resign the service altogether on the same day, was no less a crime than mutiny, for which the ring-leaders would certainly undergo the severest punishment that martial law could inflict; and that most of the inferior offenders should be sent away to England by the first ships of the ensuing season:—he further observed to them, that he was himself a soldier, and had always been a friend to the army; that he had lately given a very strong instance of his regard both to the officers and private men, having established a fund for the support of all those who should be incapable of duty, or worn out; and also to the widows of those who should die in the service. He concluded with exhorting them to behave with regularity and sobriety, and to do their duty as soldiers, till the arrival of officers, who were then on the road to Monghyr.

He then spoke by an interpreter to the several battalions of black troops, and highly applauded them for the instance they had so lately given of their steadiness and faithful attachment to the Company; he distributed honorary rewards to the several commandants and non-commissioned officers, and ordered double pay to be issued to the private men for the months of May and June.—The whole brigade was much pleased with these marks of regard from the commander in chief; expressed their satisfaction and gratitude with decent acclamations; and when they were dismissed from the parade, retired without tumult or disturbance to their quarters.

A detachment of seapoys was the next day sent out in quest of the officers who had resigned, and were now encamped within a few miles of Monghyr, intending to wait the arrival of their associates from the other brigades, and consult together upon the unexpected defeat they had already sustained. Lord Clive suspecting their intentions, gave orders that they should immediately proceed to Calcutta, and assured them, that if they did not depart quietly, the detachment should convey them away by force. This message had the desired effect, and the detachment soon returned to the garrison, with an account that the malcontents having divided themselves into small parties, were all gone towards the presidency, some by water, and some by land. Several subalterns from the out factories, who had not joined in the combination, and who had received lord Clive's orders to repair to Monghyr, were by this time arrived, and ten or twelve others were expected in a very few days from Calcutta.

Affairs being thus happily settled at Monghyr, lord Clive and general Carnac resolved to proceed on the 17th to Patna, from whence they could the more easily convey assistance to colonel Smith, whose critical situation required their principal attention. In the mean time, they sent forward a few officers to sir Robert Barker, with orders, in case their presence should not be absolutely necessary at Bankipore, to march on with all possible expedition to Allahabad, where they would receive farther orders from colonel Smith.

Neither the officers nor the men at Bankipore behaved in so tumultuous a manner as those at Monghyr. The resignation indeed took place at

the same time; but a much greater proportion of officers remained with sir Robert Barker than with sir Robert Fletcher, and so much cooler had they grown upon reflection, that many more would have returned to their duty, had they not been apprehensive that some of the ringleaders would be called to an account by a court martial; at which those who retracted might be obliged to officiate, contrary to the oath that bound them to protect the lives of each other\*. As to his European regiment, it consisted chiefly of new recruits, who shewed not the least disposition to be troublesome,—his chief deficiency was in artillery officers. He therefore took the command of that corps himself, and likewise of a battalion of seapoys. Lieutenant-colonel Chapman, an officer of great experience and address, was very instrumental in preventing a total desertion of subalterns, and in preserving discipline amongst the Europeans in the cantonments, whilst major Grant took charge of a considerable division of the brigade which sir Robert Barker had prudently detached, upon the first intimation he received of the intended resignation.

It is now time to give an account of the transactions at the camp in the lines of Serrajepore, under the command of colonel Smith, who being in a very critical situation, at the eve, as was imagined, of a battle, and at a great distance from that relief which the other brigades might obtain, laboured under peculiar difficulties.

On the 6th of May, all the officers in camp, two only excepted, wrote to the colonel for leave to resign their commissions, some demand-

\* See Appendix, No. 46.

ing their discharge immediately, others on the 1st of June†. His astonishment at such extraordinary conduct, and the resolution he immediately came to, are expressed in his letter to the select committee, and his general orders issued out that day, of which the following are copies.

“ My Lord and Gentlemen,

“ With surprize and concern I acquaint you,  
 “ that the major part of the officers of this detachment have wrote to me for leave to resign their  
 “ commissions: some have demanded their discharge immediately, others at the expiration  
 “ of the month. I transmit you a copy of the orders of this day, which will shew in lively colours my opinion of this transaction; in the  
 “ mean time I request your immediate answer concerning this event, with your instructions.

“ The officers of the garrison at Allahabad  
 “ have also signed a request of the same nature;  
 “ but as it was smuggled to me, without coming through the proper channel, I shall return it to  
 “ them; however it serves to convince me that  
 “ this is a general disaffection.

“ If all the officers of this detachment had determined to turn about on their colours, it  
 “ should have had no effect upon my measures.  
 “ The field officers, and some two or three others,  
 “ who have not forgot what they owe to their  
 “ own honour, must exert themselves with more  
 “ alacrity. I have the honour to subscribe myself,  
 “ with much respect, &c.

“ Camp in the lines of “ Richard Smith.”  
 “ Serrajepore, 6th May, 1766.

† Note, all these officers, being in the field, and without the provinces, were in the receipt of the double batta,

General orders given out by colonel Smith, at the camp in the lines of Serrajepore, 6th May, 1766.

“ The colonel cannot find words sufficiently strong, to express his astonishment at the conduct of all those officers, who have applied to him for leave to quit the service at this particular juncture, at a time when an enemy’s army, and that army so numerous, is encamped at no great distance from us. This is a behaviour so foreign to every thing that has the least connection with honour, that the colonel blushes to find his countrymen can so readily sacrifice their own reputation to any private views or considerations whatsoever: when these honourable motives have no longer any influence, the service of such officers is by no means desirable. Captains Scott and Auchmuty, captain-lieutenants Clifton and Black, lieutenant Ellerker, and ensign Maverly, having requested leave to resign, are ordered to proceed to Calcutta directly. All those officers who have been pleased to fix the 1st of June as the period of their services, shall have an answer before that day: in the mean time the colonel cannot but remark, that those officers who have requested leave to resign their commissions, have set a most extraordinary example to the black troops; and the colonel, by their conduct, will be reduced to the necessity of placing that confidence in the fidelity of the black officers, which hitherto had been properly reposed in the zeal of his fellow countrymen.”

“ Richard Smith.”

Colonel

Colonel Smith's letter, accompanied with a copy of the above orders, came to lord Clive's hands on the morning of his arrival at Monghyr: his lordship's answer, and approbation of the colonel's conduct, will appear in the Appendix, No. 47. and No. 48.

On the 7th May, colonel Smith received the following letter from the officers in camp :

To colonel Richard Smith, commander in chief, &c.

“ SIR,

“ When aspersions, unmerited, ungenerous,  
 “ and unjust, are publicly cast, with evident intentions to blacken the reputation of a corps,  
 “ who have by length of service, and the most  
 “ ardent zeal, eminently distinguished themselves for their beloved country, the honourable  
 “ Company, and their own honour; and who  
 “ have repeatedly been witnesses to the vanity of  
 “ endeavouring, by representing the most submissive and most consistent with the character  
 “ they are determined to maintain, of hoping the  
 “ least redress or prospect of relief from grievances insupportable to their minds, it behoveth  
 “ them, in vindication of themselves, to make  
 “ this public testimonial, that neither the supposed enemy, which they despise, nor the design of injuring their honourable masters,  
 “ which they hold dear, has the least tendency,  
 “ nor was the smallest motive conducive to the  
 “ request of any individual of this corps, for liberty to resign a service, which, with the utmost regret, they are compelled to relinquish,  
 “ for that happiness, which is the only end of their  
 “ being in more hospitable climates, when even  
 “ hopes are annihilated here. Can it therefore

" be expected, that any ties can be more bind-  
 " ing than the ties of nature ; or that freedom,  
 " and the desire of that liberty we inherit from  
 " our fathers, can be denominated dishonour or  
 " reproach ? But though firmly assured of the  
 " justice and probity of our proceedings as indi-  
 " viduals, we cannot behold, without something  
 " more than sorrow, the public orders of the 6th  
 " instant, which, as they can be productive of  
 " no compunction in minds satisfied with them-  
 " selves, we humbly think, that whatever part  
 " of them was intended to stigmatize us with  
 " dishonour, had much better been omitted :  
 " as this is a point every gentleman will find too  
 " hard to reconcile to his own breast, we are  
 " sorry we are obliged to give this instance of  
 " gratitude to the service, at the peril of losing  
 " that honour, which, than life, is to a soldier  
 " more dear. In the mean time we will adhere  
 " to our duty, in the manner each has signified  
 " for himself : but to continue service without  
 " confidence, yea, without honour, as by impu-  
 " tation we are at present supposed, were, in  
 " reality, to be what we are thought, and to  
 " merit what we do not deserve. We desire  
 " therefore that this may be forwarded to the  
 " honourable president and council, that by no  
 " misrepresentations we may yet suffer in their  
 " esteem ; and are still with the greatest respect,

" Sir,

" 7th May,

" 1766.

" your most obedient,

" humble servants,

" David Scott, — capt.

" A. Forbes Auchmuty, — ditto.

" Ch. Clifton, — capt. lieut.

" Alex<sup>r</sup>. Black, — ditto.

" E. Eller-

" E. Ellerker,	—	lieut.
" C. Maverly,	—	ensign.
" Alex <sup>r</sup> . Dowe,	—	capt.
" John Buckley,	—	ensign.
" Rob <sup>t</sup> . Brooke,	—	lieut.
" W <sup>m</sup> . Vertue,	—	lieut.
" W <sup>m</sup> . Benton,	—	lieut.
" James Nicols,	—	capt.
" W <sup>m</sup> . Fenwick,	—	lieut.
" John Jones,	—	lieut.
" G. B. Eyres,	—	lieut.
" Rich <sup>d</sup> . Rice,	—	ensign.
" Matt. Nail,	—	2d. lieut.
" Hen. Lidele,	—	lieut. f. art.
" Denis Fieldhouse,	—	ensign.
" Dan <sup>l</sup> . Dow,	—	ensign.
" Gab <sup>l</sup> . Harper,	—	lieut.
" Gab <sup>l</sup> . Johnstone,	—	ensign."

To this the colonel returned the following answer:

General orders.—Camp in the lines of Serrajepore, May 8th, 1766.

" As the first point of honour in all officers of  
 " the army should be fidelity to the state they  
 " serve, so no private considerations can excul-  
 " pate or extenuate the conduct of those officers,  
 " who can so far forget their duty as to form an  
 " association against their superiors, more espe-  
 " cially at a time when the troops are employed,  
 " and possibly actual service may happen. The  
 " colonel is therefore invariable in his opi-  
 " nion, and thinks such conduct is foreign to  
 " every thing that has the least connection with  
 " honour; for this reason, those officers who  
 fixed



" fixed so short a period to their services, were  
 " promised an answer before the end of the month.  
 " The colonel has received a letter, signed by  
 " the major part of the detachment. When offi-  
 " cers forget what they owe to their own honour  
 " and the public service, the colonel is by no  
 " means surprized they should forget the respect  
 " due to him; therefore as captains Dowe and  
 " Nichols, lieutenants Eyres, Benton, and Jones,  
 " had acquainted the colonel with their inten-  
 " tions to resign at the end of this month, he  
 " now directs those officers to proceed without  
 " delay to Calcutta.

" Richard Smith."

In the afternoon of the day whereon this last  
 general order was issued, lieutenant Vertue came  
 to colonel Smith, and desired leave to resign his  
 commission immediately. The colonel told him,  
 that by the general order of the 6th, he was pro-  
 mised an answer before the end of the month,  
 and that he certainly should have an answer be-  
 fore the expiration of that period; but that he  
 would not permit him to resign. After some al-  
 tercation, lieutenant Vertue told the colonel, that  
 if he would not accept his commission, he should  
 be under the necessity of leaving it with him.  
 He accordingly laid down his commission upon  
 the table, acquainted the colonel he had done so,  
 and took his leave.

Colonel Smith finding the lieutenant had ac-  
 tually left the camp, took the necessary measures  
 for his being apprehended, that he might be  
 brought to a trial for disobedience of orders and  
 desertion. He was accordingly put in arrest on  
 his arrival at Patna. The sentence passed upon  
 him

him by the general court martial will be hereafter mentioned.

Colonel Smith, on receipt of lord Clive's letters of the 29th of April, and the 2d of May, made public his lordship's sentiments, together with those of the committee in their letter to the council at Calcutta; and recommended to major Smith, the officer commanding at Allahabad, to use his utmost influence to bring the officers in garrison to a proper sense of their duty, dispatching to them at the same time the following remonstrance from himself upon the subject :

To the captains and subalterns of the second regiment of infantry, in garrison at Allahabad.

“ Gentlemen,

“ If the public service could possibly dispense  
 “ with my absence from the camp, most assured-  
 “ ly I would repair to Allahabad; for I cannot  
 “ read your letter to me, wherein you declare  
 “ your intentions of resigning your commissions,  
 “ without feeling the utmost concern: as I can-  
 “ not therefore assemble you together in person,  
 “ I must take this method of offering my senti-  
 “ ments. I entreat of you, gentlemen, for your  
 “ own honour, for my honour, and for the ho-  
 “ nour of the regiment, to weigh well this mat-  
 “ ter; view it I beseech you, divested of preju-  
 “ dice, and suffer not yourselves to be trifled  
 “ with against your better judgment. I have  
 “ transmitted major Smith, the commanding of-  
 “ ficer at Allahabad, the fixed determination of  
 “ lord Clive and the committee, with some other  
 “ papers relative to this matter, which he will  
 com-

“ communicate to you. It is impossible for me  
“ to see, without the most alarming reflections,  
“ all those inevitable consequences which must  
“ ensue, if you persist in this improper measure.  
“ I conjure you therefore, not wantonly to abandon your fair prospects in this service ; and as  
“ I have not yet transmitted your request to the  
“ committee, I cannot receive a juster satisfaction than a desire from you to suppress it.

“ To my situation in the field you are no  
“ strangers ; let me but hear you are again steady  
“ in your duty, and I shall send orders for many of you to join me with the utmost expedition, that if the enemy should attempt to enter these provinces, we may share the honour  
“ of defeating their intentions.

“ With real regard I am,

“ Gentlemen,

“ your most obedient,

“ humble servant,

“ Head quarters in the lines of  
“ Serrajepore, 12th May, 1766,

“ Richard Smith.”

This letter, instead of prevailing on the officers to proceed no farther in their unmilitary resolutions, served only to exasperate them the more, and drew from them the following intemperate reply :

To colonel Richard Smith.

“ Sir,

“ Your letter addressed to us, and that  
“ of the honourable committee to the council, have been made public to us by the  
“ major this morning ; and we are no ways  
“ surprized

“ surprized, that after the infamy you have  
 “ attempted to brand us with in the order  
 “ of the sixth (May) you should entertain the  
 “ mean opinion of us, that we should be  
 “ frightened from any resolutions we have al-  
 “ ready testified to the public. The temerity of  
 “ an order of this kind is what principally sur-  
 “ prized us, as we can conceive no good end it  
 “ would answer to the service, while opposite  
 “ consequences may be evident ; you have there-  
 “ fore put it out of our power to render the ho-  
 “ nourable Company those voluntary services we  
 “ had before offered ; so that we are come to a  
 “ final determination of proceeding downwards,  
 “ as we plainly perceive, by your not transmit-  
 “ ting our letter to the council, that we are trifled  
 “ with ; and we are unanimously resolved to set  
 “ out for Calcutta the 20th instant.

“ We are, sir,

“ with due respect,

“ The Gentlemen of the 2d Regiment.”

The colonel's letter to lord Clive, inclosing the above, is inserted in the Appendix, No. 49.

Upon this new declaration, that they would not continue to serve after the 20th of May, major Smith found himself in a very disagreeable situation. Every captain and every subaltern of the European regiment, lieutenant Delafield only excepted, were concerned in the combination, and many of them behaved in such a disrespectful and turbulent manner, as convinced him they were rather inclined to promote, than discourage a mutiny of the men. Their letter to the colonel above quoted, was by the major deemed of so insolent a nature, that he intended to have put them all

all in arrest ; but he was informed, that if he did, they would make the foldiers take up arms againft him, as they had already engaged the men in their caufe. Under thefe circumftances, he judged it neceffary to difpatch an exprefs to Serrajepore, for an old battalion of feapoys, which he had long commanded, and whole behaviour he knew might be relied on in any cafe of emergency. This battalion, under the command of lieutenant Brooke, performed the march with furprifing expedition : in two days and fix hours they reached Allahabad, which is one hundred and four miles diftant from the lines of Serrajepore, arriving feveral hours before the time fixed upon by the officers for evacuating the garrifon. Major Smith had by this time brought feveral of them to a more proper fenfe of their duty, and they all agreed to ferve, according to their firft propofal, to the end of the month. This moderation of temper however did not long remain general. On the 22d lieutenant Manfell, and enfign North, came to him, as deputies from the corps, defiring him to difmifs lieutenant Peek from the employment of adjutant, and to turn him away from his table ; and when the major defired to know the reafon of this mutinous and unfoldierlike meffage, they replied, that Mr. Peeke had retracted from his engagement with them, and was no longer a man of honour. Major Smith, enraged at this additional inftance of difaffection, immediately confined lieutenant Manfell and enfign North, and ordered lieutenant Delafield and lieutenant Brooke to get the eighth battalion under arms ; he then went himfelf and put all the officers of the garrifon in arrest, except four ; telling them, he expected they fhould within an hour make a proper fubmiffion for the affront they had offered to his

his authority; and that if they presumed to break their arrest, or attempted to raise any disturbance in the fort, the seapoys should have orders to put every one of them to death.—This spirited behaviour produced an immediate submission, and he soon released them all, except the gentlemen of the deputation, and four others whom he thought proper to send prisoners to Patna.

While the officers at Allahabad were thus prevented from carrying matters to extremities, colonel Smith, by the like means, secured tranquillity in camp. Entertaining no doubt of the fidelity of the black troops, and perceiving that no good was to be expected from the generality of the European officers under his command, he dismissed above half the corps, and ordered them to proceed to Calcutta.

On the 20th of May, lord Clive and general Carnac arrived at the cantonments at Bankipore, where, as has already been mentioned, the defection had not been attended with much inconvenience, since many of the officers of the third brigade, although they had resigned their commissions, continued nevertheless to do duty.—All these, therefore, at the intercession of sir Robert Barker, lord Clive consented to restore.

Intelligence being brought, that those who had left the cantonments were still hovering about Patna, a party of seapoys was sent out to order them to depart immediately to Calcutta; and as the officers from Serajepore and from Allahabad were upon the road, detachments were placed at proper stations, to observe their motions, and to prevent their raising disturbances in the country. Lord Clive at the same time wrote to the French and Dutch chiefs of Chandernagore and Chinsura, informing them of what had passed, and desiring  
them

them not to suffer any of the English officers to take refuge in their factories. To sir Robert Fletcher he sent orders, that not a man from the second or third brigade should, on any pretence whatsoever, be permitted to enter the gates of Monghyr ; and to the council at Calcutta he recommended, that a watchful eye should be kept upon the conduct of the officers after their arrival at the presidency ; and that, if they attempted to foment disturbances, they should be all confined in the new fort, until the Europe ships should be ready to receive them on board. In the mean time, as many of the principals of the combination as could be found, were put under an arrest, in order to take their trial as soon as a general court martial of field officers could be summoned. The temper of the second brigade also was now much altered. The officers whom lord Clive had sent forward to Allahabad, on their arrival, received orders from colonel Smith to join him at Serajepore ; but there happily proved no occasion for their service.—The fate of the combination at Monghyr and Bankipore soon became publicly known at Allahabad and in camp. The gentlemen of the second brigade were now convinced, that the scheme for the recovery of the double batta would prove ineffectual ; they saw that lord Clive would not yield to their demands ; that colonel Smith was not afraid, even in his critical situation, to trust wholly to the fidelity of the black officers ; that some of their associates were in arrest for mutiny and desertion ; that many others were to be shipped off for England ; that a strong supply would soon arrive from Madras, and that in the mean time the field officers of each brigade, with the assistance of the few captains and subalterns, who by a timely submission

mission were restored to the service, could keep the whole army in good order and discipline.—These considerations, added to the reflection that their fortune and reputation, if not their lives, were at stake, prevailed upon them not to quit their brigades at the time agreed upon, but to solicit forgiveness and restoration.—They accordingly made all possible submission for the irregularities they had been guilty of, and requested permission to continue in the service. Colonel Smith, who had authority from lord Clive to pardon those whom he wished to retain in his brigade, reinstated all who had behaved with moderation, and who were not in other respects unworthy of favour.

Repentance and humiliation now became general. Letters of recantation arrived from almost every officer; each acknowledging the rashness and crime of the late association, and each soliciting permission to return to his duty—few of the subalterns had any other means of subsistence, than their commissions in the company's service, and many of them were very young men, who had been inveigled, or rather forced, into the combination by their elders; for when the ring-leaders failed in the art of persuasion, they scrupled not to have recourse to violence, threatening some with the eternal obliquy of their brother officers, and others even with death, if they refused to resign their commissions: tenderness and compassion therefore took place of the rigour of military discipline; all the ensigns, many of the lieutenants, and several even of the captains, were re-instated in the service; but, in order to prevent any future combination, it was at the same time given out in public orders, that every officer who had resigned, and was restored, should



be obliged to execute a contract, not to quit the service under a certain limited time, without giving a year's notice.

With regard to those who had deserted their duty in the field at Serrajepore, several of them were kept in arrest to take their trials; and others, whose conduct had been in a less degree exceptionable, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Europe. Many of the vacancies were in a few weeks filled up by officers from the Coast, who were admitted according to the rank they held on the Madras establishment, so far as not to prejudice any of equal rank in Bengal, who had not resigned their commissions. The army was thus in a manner new modelled, and, we may venture to assert, became soon as complete, with respect to good officers and discipline, as any army of the Company in India ever was before that period.

The happy issue of this conspiracy is not to be attributed to the resolution of lord Clive alone: an opposition of such a dangerous nature, abetted and encouraged as this was, by many gentlemen in the civil service, and at a time when the provinces were threatened with an invasion, could not have been overcome, had not the measures suggested by his lordship been steadily pursued, and unanimously supported, by the council. Much also is to be attributed to the activity and firmness of the field officers of each brigade, without which all the efforts of government would probably have proved unsuccessful. These gentlemen, as has been observed in the course of the narrative, severally exerted themselves in suppressing the tumultuous disposition of the officers under their command, and also in preventing a mutiny of the soldiers, which seemed almost the  
natural

natural consequence of a defection of the captains and subalterns. Nor would it be proper to dismiss this subject without remarking, that the fate of the East India Company depended at that time, and will ever in a great measure depend, upon the attachment of the native disciplined troops, which indeed is not to be suspected, so long as they are regularly paid, well commanded, and treated with humanity.

To what lengths the military gentlemen, had they succeeded in the first instance, would afterwards have extended their demands, can scarcely be conjectured ; but it has been confidently asserted, that, besides the restoration of double batta, the officers intended to insist upon three other points.

1st. The abolition of the new covenants, concerning the receipt of presents from the princes of the country :

2d. The annihilation of the powers of the select committee : and

3d. A solemn promise from the governor and council, and a standing order of the board, that none of the officers in Bengal should, in future, be superseded by any others appointed by the court of directors from England, or from either of the Company's settlements in India.

It is not to be imagined, that all those officers who were now excluded the service, and directed to leave India, readily complied with the orders for embarkation. Some there were who determined to resist : amongst these were Messrs. Duffield and Robertson, two of the ringleaders of the combination in the third brigade. In the month of August, when they received orders to embark upon the Lord Camden, then under dispatch for

Europe, they sent a remonstrance to the board ; setting forth, that they should be greatly distressed, if driven to the necessity of leaving India before they had settled their private affairs ; and that therefore they neither could nor would comply with the orders. They also delivered in a protest, declaring the board responsible for the consequences of enforcing obedience ; Mr. Robertson at the same time representing, that the ill state of his health would not admit of his making a voyage, without endangering his life. That there might be no doubt in this particular, the governor and council directed the principal surgeons of the settlement to visit him ; and the substance of their report was, that they did not find any objection on account of his health, to his going on board of ship.

Apprehensive that the authority of the board would not be thus baffled, the gentlemen thought proper, as the last resource, to shut themselves up in their houses, and barricade their doors. These means, they concluded, would effectually secure them from the civil power ; and as to martial law, they defied it, because they had been pleased to resign their commissions, and would therefore be no longer considered as military men. The governor and council immediately taking into consideration the measures necessary to be pursued upon this occasion, came unanimously to the following resolutions, viz.

“ Resolved, that as Messrs. Duffield and Robertson have, by their unwarrantable and mutinous conduct in the late association, forfeited the privilege of residing within the boundaries of the Company’s possessions ; and have, in defiance of the orders of the board, refused to embark on the Lord Camden for Europe, they  
“ be

“ be compelled to embark on board the said ship  
 “ ship, that they may be conveyed to England.  
 “ And although, from an act of the  
 “ of George the First, we derive a sufficient au-  
 “ thority to have recourse on this occasion to the  
 “ civil power; yet, considering that Messrs. Duf-  
 “ field and Robertson are military men; and that  
 “ the delays which unavoidably attend the pro-  
 “ ceeding of the civil magistrate in Calcutta  
 “ would be extremely dangerous to all law, good  
 “ order, and government, at a time when the  
 “ mutinous opinion, that the army is not subject  
 “ to the articles of war, is so industriously pro-  
 “ pagated and openly avowed: it is agreed, that  
 “ the said gentlemen be, without delay, appre-  
 “ hended by the military power, and kept in con-  
 “ finement as mutineers, until they can be em-  
 “ barked, when they shall be sent on board the  
 “ ship under a guard.

“ At the same time the board think it a neces-  
 “ sary caution, in the instructions to be given  
 “ to the officer who shall be employed upon this  
 “ occasion, to order him on no account to break  
 “ open doors or windows to come at the persons  
 “ of Messrs. Duffield and Robertson; but should  
 “ he find them barricadoed in their apartments,  
 “ and that they obstinately persist in refusing  
 “ to surrender themselves (as, from the informa-  
 “ tion received, will most probably be case) that  
 “ he content himself with placing centinels round  
 “ the house, so as to prevent an escape, and  
 “ to hinder any person or provisions going in to  
 “ them.

“ These are determined upon as the most  
 “ moderate means of enforcing the above  
 “ resolution of the board; and the right ho-  
 “ nourable the president is desired to give the

" necessary orders for carrying the same into  
 " execution.

" We cannot but be unanimously of opinion,  
 " that the mutinous conduct of these gentle-  
 " men, during the late treacherous combination,  
 " would alone have justified the resolution of  
 " this day's consultation: but we are farther  
 " convinced of the propriety thereof, when we  
 " consider that the most frivolous pretexts and  
 " disingenuous artifices have been made use of,  
 " in order to evade the legal executive power of  
 " this government; that the most audacious  
 " defiance has been publicly bid to our autho-  
 " rity; and that the permitting these men to  
 " continue in the settlement would not only  
 " create any opinion, that every man has in him-  
 " self a right, independent of the Company, to  
 " reside in India, but likewise greatly tend to  
 " the encouragement and encrease of that spi-  
 " rit of sedition, mutiny, and conspiracy,  
 " which has been raging throughout the army,  
 " and which it is our indispensable duty, for the  
 " security of the whole, by almost any means to  
 " overcome."

In consequence of the above regulation, a  
 guard, under the command of a prudent officer,  
 was appointed by lord Clive to apprehend Messrs.  
 Duffield and Robertson, with the strictest or-  
 ders not to force doors nor windows, but to watch  
 an opportunity to secure the prisoners with as  
 little violence as possible. Messrs. Duffield and  
 Robertson, suspecting the measures that would  
 be pursued, had laid in a sufficient stock of pro-  
 vision to serve them longer than they judged the  
 governor and council would chuse to delay the  
 dispatch of the ship. In this situation, therefore,  
 they continued several days, when, having ob-  
 tained

tained information that the Lord Camden had failed, they opened their doors, came forth, were apprehended by the guards, and put on board the *Ann* sloop, which conveyed them safely to Madras, from whence they were sent, by the way of Bombay, to England.

It has been asserted, and indeed there is no doubt, that some of the gentlemen in the civil service, not only by their example and exhortations, encouraged the officers of the army in every act of opposition to government, but subscribed money for the maintenance of those who might suffer by the resignation of their commissions.

One of the principal servants at a subordinate factory assured general Carnac, in confidence, that he had been applied to by some gentlemen in Calcutta on the occasion; and the officers at Monghyr and Bankipore in general declared from the beginning, that they depended upon a civil subscription equal to that which was to be raised by the military. The council at Fort William exerted their utmost endeavours to discover the principal abettors of this subscription; but the correspondence between the army and the presidency had been carried on with such caution and ingenuity, that very few discoveries could be made. Their letters of greatest secrecy and importance were conveyed by private posts of their own, appointed for that purpose; and when they wrote by the public posts, they wrote under cover to ladies, concluding that letters so directed would neither be opened nor intercepted. The less cautious were contented to disguise their handwriting, and omit signing their names. One of these anonymous letters is entered in the Appen-

dix, No. 50, and the proceeding of the council thereupon is as follows :

“ Fort William, 20th May, 1766,

“ At a consultation, present, Messrs. Sumner,  
 “ Verelst, Marriott, Watts, Russell, Alder-  
 “ sey, Kelsall, and Floyer. Lord Clive and  
 “ general Carnac absent up the country.

“ An anonymous letter, addressed to lieu-  
 “ tenant Farmer, at Bankipore, having been sent  
 “ down from the army, is now produced to the  
 “ board and read, and appears to be dated from  
 “ the New Fort the 6th of May ; wherein the  
 “ writer, with great freedom, takes upon him  
 “ to censure the conduct of the governor and  
 “ council, for the manner in which they replied  
 “ to the late remonstrance from the officers of  
 “ the third brigade ; and containing some other  
 “ very unbecoming reflections, tending to in-  
 “ flame dissensions at the present critical period,  
 “ when the officers of the three brigades have  
 “ entered into a general association to resign their  
 “ commissions unless double batta be restored ;  
 “ the hand-writing of this anonymous letter be-  
 “ ing compared with the different sets of busi-  
 “ ness in the secretary's office, is found to cor-  
 “ respond exactly with that of Mr. Grindal, one  
 “ of the assistants ; who being called before the  
 “ board, and asked if he wrote the letter, con-  
 “ fesses it to be of his writing, acknowledg-  
 “ ing himself to be very deserving of censure  
 “ for so imprudent a step, but entreats the board's  
 “ forgiveness, as he declares the contents were not  
 “ the dictates of his own sentiments, but merely  
 “ the result of what he had often heard in public  
 “ companies.

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Grindal being ordered to withdraw, and  
 “ the question put, what censure should be pass-  
 “ ed upon him for his misconduct, the board are  
 “ unanimously of opinion, that Mr. Grindal is  
 “ highly deserving of being suspended from the  
 “ honourable Company’s service, and it is accord-  
 “ ingly resolved, that he do stand suspended until  
 “ the Company’s pleasure be known.

“ And ordered, that the letter to Mr. Farmer  
 “ be entered after these minutes.”

The language of Mr. Grindal, who was only an assistant, or clerk, in the secretary’s office, will not be thought surprizing, when even the sub-secretary himself is found to have been guilty of the same sort of indiscretion.

A copy of a letter from lord Clive and general Carnac to the board upon this subject, as also the letter therein referred to, from the sub-secretary to lieutenant Robertson, adjutant of the third brigade, are inserted in the Appendix, No. 51 and 52 ; and the proceeding of the council thereupon was as follows :

“ Fort-William, 9th June, 1766.

“ At a consultation, present, Messrs. Sumner,  
 “ Verelst, Watts, Russell, Aldersey, and  
 “ Floyer. Lord Clive and general Carnac  
 “ absent up the country. Mr. Marriott  
 “ absent.

“ The anonymous letter addressed to lieutenant  
 “ Robertson, enclosed in that received from lord  
 “ Clive and general Carnac, dated 29th of the  
 “ last month, as appears on the face of the sepa-  
 “ rate proceedings, supposed to be the hand-  
 “ writing of Mr. Higginson, the sub-secretary,  
 “ being



“ being now produced and read, as entered here-  
 “ after; he is called before the board, and being  
 “ asked concerning it, acknowledges the letter to  
 “ have been written by him.

“ The board observe on the contents of this  
 “ letter, that the writer seems heartily to  
 “ espouse the cause of the military officers in  
 “ the late combination, by wishing them all the  
 “ success they can desire. Mr. Higginson, be-  
 “ ing desired to explain his meaning, expressed  
 “ in the following terms, What will not am-  
 “ bition and self-interest lead many men to do?  
 “ he declines it, thinking himself not under the  
 “ necessity of disclosing his private sentiments;  
 “ assuring the board, at the same time, that  
 “ he never entertained a wish that might in  
 “ the least tend to the prejudice of the Company’s  
 “ affairs.

“ Mr. Higginson being then ordered to with-  
 “ draw, the board farther remark, that the tenor  
 “ of his letter, now before us, is not only de-  
 “ rogatory from his duty as a Company’s ser-  
 “ vant; but highly disrespectful in the personal  
 “ reflections he has cast on the board, and parti-  
 “ cularly inconsistent with the public trust he  
 “ holds of sub-secretary, which should have insur-  
 “ ed his attachment and fidelity to the govern-  
 “ ment, instead of suffering in him the least ten-  
 “ dency to promote those dissensions which have  
 “ of late prevailed, and might have been attend-  
 “ ed with the most fatal consequence to the Com-  
 “ pany’s affairs.

“ The honourable Court of Directors, in their  
 “ commands, dated the  
 “ have thought that the conduct of the junior  
 “ servants at this presidency for some time past,  
 “ has been so exceptionable, as to grant us a  
 “ power

“ power of dismissal from their service, when  
 “ examples may be judged necessary; and the  
 “ board think Mr. Higginson’s conduct, in the  
 “ present instance, independently considered, is  
 “ deserving thereof. But as Mr. Higginson has  
 “ distinguished himself by a diligent attention to  
 “ the duties of his station since he has been  
 “ employed in the secretary’s office, and has  
 “ ever borne a very favourable character, it  
 “ is resolved, that he be suspended only from  
 “ the honourable Company’s service until the  
 “ pleasure of the Court of Directors be known,  
 “ which the secretary is ordered to signify to him  
 “ accordingly.

“ Although the conduct of the civilians has of  
 “ late been exceptionable in many instances, the  
 “ board could hardly bring themselves to be-  
 “ lieve, that the spirit of party and discontent  
 “ would have hurried them such lengths as to  
 “ encourage the officers in their unprecedented  
 “ measures, by means of a subscription for the  
 “ support of such as might resign their commis-  
 “ sions, as has been confidently asserted by the  
 “ officers themselves. That the civilians have  
 “ been active in promoting the combination  
 “ among the officers, has already evidently ap-  
 “ peared by the anonymous letter Mr. Grindall  
 “ acknowledged to have written to lieutenant  
 “ Farmer, for which he was suspended the ser-  
 “ vice, and by the other anonymous letter men-  
 “ tioned by lord Clive and general Carnac, in  
 “ theirs of the 29th of May, of which Mr. Hig-  
 “ ginson, the sub-secretary, is proved to have  
 “ been the author, and for which he has also been  
 “ suspended from the service, as appears on the  
 “ minutes of our proceedings on this day in the  
 “ other department,

“ The board therefore concur entirely in opinion with lord Clive and general Carnac, that they shall be justified in opening all suspicious letters, and in taking such other measures as may be most conducive to trace so criminal a combination to its source ; and it is resolved, that the authors of such letters, in support of schemes by which the public safety is endangered, as well as all others that may appear to have been concerned therein, shall be proceeded against in the severest manner.”

Amongst the anonymous letter-writers, was another gentleman, who thought fit to address himself to the whole army, but more particularly to the officers of the third brigade, on account of their continuing with sir Robert Barker as volunteers, after the time agreed upon for the general resignation. He accuses them of the folly of not engaging the assistance of the men, which could alone have secured success, lord Clive having declared, that nothing less than a mutiny of the soldiers should force him to comply with the terms of the officers : he reproaches them for their dastardly behaviour in suffering Duffield, Robertson, &c. to be sent to Calcutta ; reminds them of the ridicule they would undergo from the gentlemen in the civil branch, if they should not obtain the victory ; and concludes with the recital of a fictitious dialogue between lord Clive and general Carnac, which the author audaciously asserts to be genuine, and to have passed within his hearing. An exact copy of this ingenious performance is inserted in the Appendix, No. 53.

These, it is presumed, are sufficient specimens of the inflammatory correspondence: of the insolent,

solent also, and the libellous, many instances could be given. But it is time to enter upon more important points.

It has already been mentioned, that captain Goddard, and other officers of the first brigade, accused their lieutenant colonel of having been the first instigator of the crime which had involved so many of them in ruin. The mischiefs of their enterprize were no sooner obviated, and discipline restored, than sir Robert Fletcher's conduct became the topic of every conversation; and on the 19th of June lord Clive received the following anonymous letter of which Mr. Bagot, surgeon to the first brigade, some time after, acknowledged himself to have been the author.

“ Though an anonymous letter has but an indiffer-  
 “ ent appearance, yet your lordship knows,  
 “ that in some cases it may be the only channel  
 “ through which truth can be conveyed. This  
 “ is particularly addressed to you, sir, being the  
 “ fountain of justice, from one who feels his  
 “ own, and the hardships which many of his  
 “ brother officers are likely to suffer on this oc-  
 “ casion. Be it known then to your lordship,  
 “ that we have been led into the resignation of  
 “ our commissions, and therewith our whole sup-  
 “ port, by a man who now stands behind the  
 “ curtain, deriding those miseries which his de-  
 “ luding arguments have brought upon us. The  
 “ plain matter of fact is this; that when sir Ro-  
 “ bert Fletcher found a resignation was not like-  
 “ ly to go forward by his private hints and en-  
 “ couragement, he at last ventured to recom-  
 “ mend it publicly, at a table of a dozen offi-  
 “ cers; telling them, that the brigade major,  
 “ and his aid du camp, should first set the ex-  
 “ ample; and that their discontents, joined to  
 “ that

“ that of the civilians, would inevitably deprive  
 “ your lordship of all power; adding, that he  
 “ was well acquainted with the Madras coun-  
 “ sellors\*, who he was sure would all join against  
 “ you. He farther attempted to raise our in-  
 “ dignation, by saying that the army was insult-  
 “ ed, their services rewarded with ingratitude,  
 “ and that your lordship’s design was evidently  
 “ to reduce us to contempt and beggary : above  
 “ all things he beseeched us to be speedy in the  
 “ affair, lest the Europe ships should carry home  
 “ the news of your lordship’s having accomplish-  
 “ ed what had been in vain attempted by former  
 “ governors.—Your lordship’s impartiality will  
 “ now clearly point out who was the more cul-  
 “ pable; we for following the advice of our  
 “ commanding officer, or he for leading us into  
 “ this ruinous measure, merely to gratify his pri-  
 “ vate purposes. Justice and honour do now call  
 “ upon your lordship: you will not, nay you  
 “ cannot, suppress a strict enquiry into this af-  
 “ fair; the fate of many innocent people depend-  
 “ ing upon it. You will then find what is here  
 “ asserted confirmed beyond all doubt, with many  
 “ aggravating circumstances. Your lordship has  
 “ been imposed on in the account of his conduct  
 “ to the Ducarels; it was he alone who endea-  
 “ voured to promote a combination against  
 “ them, which, to your lordship, ’tis appre-  
 “ hended, he made a merit to break. Such  
 “ other instances could be given your lordship  
 “ of his duplicity, hypocrisy, injustice, and ra-  
 “ paciousness, as would make a man of com-  
 “ mon honesty blush to see human nature so de-

\* Note, Four gentlemen, whom lord Clive and the select  
 committee had been under the necessity of calling from Madras  
 to fill up vacancies in council at Bengal.

“graded in this individual. If this relation seems exaggerated, bring it to the test.”

In this, Sir Robert Fletcher had evidently an enemy, but not an accuser. Lord Clive paid little attention to the anonymous charge, though many of the facts therein asserted corresponded too nearly with the public report, and with private information. The following letter, however, received a few days after from Sir Robert Fletcher himself, could not fail to convince his lordship, that the accusation, in general, was founded upon truth.

“ My lord,

“ With great uneasiness I learn, that reports have reached your lordship of my having assisted and encouraged the officers in their late combination; and I confess my concern is aggravated, when, by a mature consideration of my conduct, I find I have acted with an imprudence that leaves matter, which, in the hands of my enemies, might turn to my prejudice; at the same time that I could take a most solemn oath of my having acted entirely from principles and motives that I then judged necessary to the public good, and such as would have been called good policy in a commanding officer not surrounded, as I have been, with a crowd of enemies, whose province it is to snatch up, to my prejudice, the very expressions which they themselves know were calculated to deceive them, and which I hope my latter conduct hath sufficiently proved. As for the combination itself, it was near the end of April before I knew any thing of it. I condemned it immediately as a mutinous act, used every endeavour to extricate all those from it,

“ for

“ for whom I had any kind of regard; and when  
 “ I found I could not prevail, I informed your  
 “ lordship of all that I knew of their schemes;  
 “ contrary to a promise of secrecy, on which  
 “ condition alone I found I could gain a know-  
 “ ledge of their intentions. If the reports I  
 “ mention have prejudiced me in your lordship’s  
 “ opinion, I earnestly request you will give me  
 “ such information as may enable me to clear  
 “ myself to the world and to you, whose good  
 “ opinion I should be highly concerned to forfeit,  
 “ and to be disappointed in the end to which all  
 “ my endeavours to promote the service have al-  
 “ ways tended. I have the honour to be, with  
 “ great respect, &c.

“ Monghyr,

“ 23d June 1756.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Fletcher.”

Sir Robert Fletcher, as well as all the rest of  
 the field officers, who could be spared from duty  
 with the brigades, was at this time under order  
 to repair to Patna, where the general courts mar-  
 tial were to be held, and where lord Clive in-  
 tended to have a consultation upon military re-  
 gulations and measures proper to be pursued in  
 consequence of the late association. He there-  
 fore thought proper to defer giving an answer to  
 the above letter, till sir Robert Fletcher’s arrival.  
 But in the mean time, the judge advocate ge-  
 neral, at the instance of captain Goddard, laid a  
 regular information of mutiny against sir Robert  
 Fletcher, who was thereupon put in arrest the  
 3d of July, the day on which he arrived at Patna.

However interesting the particulars of the ac-  
 cusation against this gentleman may be, our at-  
 tention must, for the present, be withheld by  
 another extraordinary occurrence, of a different  
 nature;

nature, of which lord Clive received intimation a few hours after Sir Robert Fletcher's arrest, by the following letter from the council.

“ My Lord,

“ Having very good information that captain  
 “ Stainforth, of the first brigade at Monghyr,  
 “ during the course of the late combination made  
 “ use of threatening expressions against your  
 “ lordship's life, of which we expect in a few  
 “ days to have an undoubted proof, when we  
 “ shall immediately communicate the circum-  
 “ stances to your lordship, we are of opinion  
 “ that his person should be immediately secured;  
 “ and recommend to your lordship to take  
 “ measures, without loss of time, for that pur-  
 “ pose. It was reported that another officer  
 “ had been also concerned with captain Stain-  
 “ forth; but we have since learnt that it was  
 “ without foundation.

“ Fort William,  
 “ 24th June 1766.” “ We have the honour to be, &c.”

Lord Clive, upon the receipt of this letter, sent an order to the officer commanding at Monghyr, to send captain Stainforth in arrest to Patna.

The proceedings of council on the 11th of July, of which the following is an extract, contain a full account of the charge exhibited against that officer.

“ At a consultation, present, Messrs. Sum-  
 “ ner, Vereleft, Watts, Aldersey, Mar-  
 “ riott, Russell, Kelsall, and Floyer.

“ Mr. Verelst having in consultation the 24th  
 “ of June communicated the information he had  
 “ received of a proposal of captain Stainforth's



“ to assassinate the right honourable the presi-  
 “ dent, now acquaints the board that in conse-  
 “ quence of their desire, he has since made the  
 “ strictest enquiry, and is concerned to find the  
 “ charge against captain Stainforth but too well  
 “ supported by very aggravating circumstances.  
 “ From the further information he has now  
 “ obtained, it appears, that in the height of the  
 “ combination, captain Stainforth had proposed  
 “ to throw the die with any other person, to  
 “ make a sacrifice of lord Clive; that this pro-  
 “ posal was made in the presence of Messieurs  
 “ Wilding, Petrie, Dunbar, and Hoggan, and  
 “ several other officers, who, shocked at so hor-  
 “ rid a proposal, desired Mr. Hoggan would go  
 “ to captain Stainforth the next morning, and  
 “ ask him whether he recollected to have made  
 “ use of such an expression, and what he really  
 “ intended by it: that so far from denying, he  
 “ not only avowed the proposal, but declared he  
 “ continued in the same mind.

“ That some time afterwards, when a review  
 “ was expected on his lordship's arrival at Mong-  
 “ hyr, captain Stainforth proposed to the adju-  
 “ tant, that instead of spontoons the officers  
 “ should carry fuzils, which might give him the  
 “ opportunity of getting rid of his lordship by  
 “ a ball.

“ Agreed that these particulars of the charge  
 “ against captain Stainforth be communicated to  
 “ lord Clive.”

Although the trial of this gentleman was pos-  
 terior to that of Sir Robert Fletcher, yet, in order  
 to dismiss so disagreeable a subject, it is judged  
 proper in this place to insert the sentence of the  
 general court martial, which was as follows:

“ The

" The court having taken into mature consider-  
 " ation the evidence for and against the prisoner,  
 " together with his defence, are unanimously of  
 " opinion that he is guilty of the crime laid to  
 " his charge ; which they judge to be a breach  
 " of the first part of the third article of the se-  
 " cond section of the articles of war. But the  
 " prisoner's extreme backwardness to enter into  
 " the combination having evidently appeared,  
 " and that the proposal, shocking as it is, was  
 " mentioned at only one particular point of time ;  
 " also the evidence in support of the charge hav-  
 " ing deposed that they thought him then either  
 " drunk or mad ; and it being plain those evi-  
 " dences imagined that no accident could ensue  
 " from so rash a project, as the court have not  
 " heard that they made any report to their com-  
 " manding officer of it ;

" Those arguments, added to the prisoner's  
 " former good character, prevailed on the court  
 " only to cashier him ; and he is hereby sentenc-  
 " ed to be cashiered."

Thomas Pearson, judge advocate.

Richard Smith, president.

The nature of the charge exhibited against sir  
 Robert Fletcher, has already been touched upon ;  
 but as captain Goddard's information before the  
 council contains a full relation of particulars, the  
 substance thereof, it is presumed, will not be  
 unsatisfactory.

" On the third of July, that gentleman de-  
 " livered into the board, a letter, wherein he  
 " acquainted them that he thought it incumbent  
 " upon him to trouble them with the reasons of  
 " his late conduct in the resignation ; assured

“ them that he would not have entered into such  
 “ a measure, had he not been urged thereto by sir  
 “ Robert Fletcher, who was one of the principal  
 “ instigators of the whole, an assertion which he  
 “ was both able and willing to prove; that sir  
 “ Robert had reproached him with a want of  
 “ public spirit, pointing out the readiness even  
 “ of those who enjoyed double posts, and private  
 “ interest, to join in the affair, particularly lieu-  
 “ tenant Bevan, (his major of brigade) whom he  
 “ afterwards obliged to recant and break his en-  
 “ gagement with the corps, in order to raise  
 “ himself by their ruin; and that sir Robert Flet-  
 “ cher allowed lieutenant Bevan to draw private-  
 “ ly for the pay of seapoys, who never were en-  
 “ tertained in his (captain Godard’s) battalion,  
 “ to the amount of 900 rupees (or 112 l.) per  
 “ month.”

Captain Goddard was then called upon by the  
 board to relate the particulars of the charge ex-  
 hibited in his letter: whereupon he observes,  
 “ that captain Roper, captain Parker, Mr. Ba-  
 “ got, and Mr. Watts, having been present  
 “ when the conversation passed with sir Robert  
 “ Fletcher on the subject of the association  
 “ amongst the officers, and the two former being  
 “ shortly expected in Calcutta, he should be glad  
 “ to wait their arrival before he enters into a  
 “ particular detail. But being desired by the  
 “ board now to recite the most material circum-  
 “ stances, he informs them, that soon after the  
 “ association was set on foot, sir Richard Fletcher  
 “ declared at captain Goddard’s table, that he  
 “ was very much surprised that he (captain God-  
 “ dard) had not joined in that association, as he  
 “ thought an officer of his spirit would have been  
 “ one of the first to have engaged in it: to which

“ captain Goddard answered, that he supposed  
 “ lord Clive had ordered the batta to be reduced  
 “ in consequence of orders from the Company,  
 “ and that it was not an act of his own; when sir  
 “ Robert Fletcher replied, he was sure those or-  
 “ ders were not positive, and that a general asso-  
 “ ciation amongst the officers could not fail of be-  
 “ ing successful; that as a proof of the disinte-  
 “ restedness of the officers of his family, his own  
 “ aid de camp and brigade major had engaged in  
 “ it. These circumstances he pointed out as an  
 “ inducement to captain Goddard to join also in  
 “ the association, which to that time he had a-  
 “ voided, by not frequenting the meetings of the  
 “ officers when it was in agitation, but being  
 “ challenged in this manner after the affair had  
 “ become general, he was at length prevailed  
 “ upon to join with the rest.

“ Captain Goddard also acquaints the board,  
 “ that a day or two before lord Clive arrived at  
 “ Monghyr, when the officers were preparing to  
 “ come down to Calcutta in consequence of the  
 “ board’s orders to sir Robert Fletcher, captain  
 “ Goddard desired leave to stay, as he had some-  
 “ thing of consequence to impart to his lordship;  
 “ but sir Robert Fletcher gave him for answer,  
 “ that the orders of the board for sending all who  
 “ had resigned, to Calcutta, were so positive that  
 “ he must depart with the rest. Captain Goddard  
 “ further says, that in the first orders he with  
 “ some other officers had separately received from  
 “ Sir Robert Fletcher to come down, it was ex-  
 “ pressly said, that unless he complied with these  
 “ orders before five o’clock that evening, he  
 “ should be sent down under a military force.  
 “ Captain Goddard then informed the board,  
 “ that on the 13th of May, major Champion re-

"ceived a note, whilst he was at supper, from  
 "sir Robert Fletcher, which he communicated  
 "to him (captain Goddard) wherein he expressed  
 "his apprehension of a mutiny amongst the sea-  
 "poys of captain Goddard's battalion, which  
 "major Champion had taken command of in  
 "his room, to which he (captain Goddard) re-  
 "plied that sir Robert Fletcher must then be  
 "better acquainted with them than he was, as  
 "they had always shewn a particular attachment  
 "to him (captain Goddard) and that he would  
 "undertake to answer for their not engaging in  
 "any desperate measures. That the next morn-  
 "ing when he went to the fort at Monghyr in  
 "order to prepare for coming away in conse-  
 "quence of the orders he had received above  
 "mentioned, he discovered the appearance of a  
 "mutiny amongst the Europeans, and sir Robert  
 "Fletcher endeavouring to pacify them, in which  
 "he offered his assistance, but sir Robert told  
 "him there was no occasion for it: that he then  
 "went to the place where the battalion of seapoys  
 "he had lately commanded was quartered, and  
 "acquainted major Champion with what had  
 "happened in the fort, and offered to stay with  
 "the seapoys to prevent any disturbances; but  
 "major Champion told him there was not any  
 "necessity for it, as he had not discovered the  
 "least appearance of such intention among the  
 "seapoys. Captain Goddard then made known  
 "to major Champion and captain Pearson, the  
 "circumstance that had passed between him and  
 "sir Robert Fletcher, in order to exculpate him-  
 "self; as he had some reason to fear his conduct  
 "would have been impeached by him after his  
 "departure, which he has since heard was ac-  
 "tually the case.

" Mr.

“ Mr. Verelst then desired the following questions might be put to captain Goddard.

Question. “ Did you ever hear sir Robert Fletcher say, that the discontents of the military, added to those of the civilians, would deprive his lordship of all power ?”

Answer. “ I have heard sir Robert Fletcher say, that now would be the time for the officers to push their scheme, while the civilians were all in a flame; or words to that effect.”

Question. “ Did you ever hear sir Robert Fletcher say, that the Madras fellows would all join against his lordship ?”

Answer. “ No.”

Question. “ Did you ever hear sir Robert Fletcher throw out any hints, that it was his lordship's intentions to reduce the army to a state of contempt and beggary; that it was insulted, and rewarded with ingratitude ?”

Answer. “ No.”

Captain Goddard being then desired to withdraw, Mr. Verelst informs the board, “ That he has received from lord Clive a copy of an anonymous \* letter addressed to his lordship, which he desires may be read and recorded, as the subject of it induced him to put the above questions to Mr. Goddard.”

Sir Robert Fletcher, upon receipt of lord

\* See page 61.

Clive's orders for going in arrest, wrote to his lordship as follows, requesting he might not be tried by a court martial, but by the governor and council at Calcutta.

" My Lord,

" Colonel Barker hath sent me orders from  
 " your lordship, which I have just now received,  
 " for my going in arrest; but I most earnestly  
 " request your lordship will be pleased not to in-  
 " sist upon this, as I imagine it is intended to  
 " bring me to a trial for my conduct regarding  
 " the combination, but indulge me with the pri-  
 " vilege of repairing to Calcutta, where I may  
 " have the honour of being tried by your lord-  
 " ship and the council, before whom I have  
 " not the least doubt of clearing myself with ho-  
 " nour and credit. The nature of my defence is  
 " such, as I would by no means wish should come  
 " before a court martial here.

" I have the honour to be

" with great respect, &c.

" Patna, 3d July 1766.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Fletcher."

To which lord Clive returned the following answer.

" S I R,

" I have received your letter of this day's date.  
 " You will not, I hope, entertain the least doubt  
 " of my willingness to oblige a gentleman in your  
 " situation, in any request that can with pro-  
 " priety be granted. But that of your repairing  
 " to Calcutta, in order to be tried by the pre-  
 " sident and council, upon an accusation, your  
 " exculpation from which depends merely upon  
 " military

" military law, is totally unprecedented, and  
 " therefore improper for me to comply with.  
 " That you may not however imagine that I in-  
 " tend to take any other part, upon this occasion,  
 " than what my public station requires, be assur-  
 " ed that the court martial to be held upon your  
 " late conduct will be assembled by an order from  
 " the board, and the sentence confirmed or dis-  
 " approved of by them.

" Meer Abfels,

I am, sir, &c.

" 3d July 1766.

Clive."

This letter by no means answering his pur-  
 pose, he applied to lord Clive the day following,  
 that a court of enquiry, consisting of the gentle-  
 men of council, might previously sit upon his  
 conduct. His letter was as follows :

" My lord,

" I have been honoured by your lordship's let-  
 " ter of yesterday ; and although no precedent  
 " of the like kind, perhaps from the want of op-  
 " portunity, hath hitherto happened, yet I had  
 " some hopes that my situation might induce you  
 " to comply with my request, which I made for  
 " reasons that your lordship and every sensible  
 " man cannot but admit, who knows the nature  
 " of courts martial in this country ; when they  
 " are too often in a great measure composed of  
 " gentlemen whose birth and former lives have  
 " given them no opportunity of acquiring an  
 " education sufficient to comprehend and to  
 " judge in cases that require the most serious  
 " deliberations of men of knowledge and abili-  
 " ties ; and for the same reason, I beg your lord-  
 " ship



" ship will permit me now to request, that a  
 " court of enquiry may first be held, whereby  
 " you, or the governor and council, may judge  
 " whether I merit the disgrace of being brought  
 " to a court martial, which, whether culpable or  
 " not, can never redound to my credit.

" I am with great respect,

" Patna,

" My lord, &c.

" 4th July, 1766.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. Fletcher."

That a military officer should be tried under an article of war for mutiny, by a board of gentlemen acting in a civil capacity, was not only unprecedented, but would have been absurd, if not impracticable; nor would a court of inquiry, composed of the like members, have been less improper, since the conduct of a military man is always to be judged of by the rules and customs of the army, as well as by the letter of military law. Lord Clive did not therefore make any reply to this last proposal, but wrote as follows to the gentlemen of council, inclosing copies of sir Robert Fletcher's letters of the 3d and 4th of July, as also a copy of his answer to the former.

" Gentlemen,

" On the 3d instant I had the honour to inform  
 " you of my having ordered lieutenant-colonel  
 " sir Robert Fletcher in arrest. I am now far-  
 " ther to acquaint you, that I have directed the  
 " judge-advocate-general to give him notice that  
 " the crime, for which he will be tried, is mutiny.  
 " Enclosed are copies of two letters which I re-  
 " ceived from him since his arrest; and also a  
 " copy of my answer to the one of the 3d instant;  
 " to that of the 4th I have not thought proper  
 " to

“ to reply. As it is very probable, that in the  
 “ course of the examination by the court martial,  
 “ it may appear that an intention to affect my  
 “ honour and government was one of the first  
 “ motives of the late combination, delicacy for-  
 “ bids my taking any part that can possibly bear  
 “ the imputation of private pique, or personal  
 “ resentment : I must therefore request that the  
 “ warrant for holding a general court martial  
 “ upon lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher,  
 “ may be issued by the president and council, and  
 “ the sentence be confirmed or disapproved by  
 “ them.

“ Myr Abfels,                      I have the honour to be, &c.  
 “ 5th July, 1766.                      “ Clive.”

Agreeably to the request in the latter part of his lordship's letter, a warrant for the trial of sir Robert Fletcher, and likewise for the trial of several other prisoners then in arrest, was signed by the board and transmitted to Patna. Under this warrant, sir Robert Fletcher, captain Stainforth, captain Parker, and ensign North, were tried, and the sentences passed upon them confirmed by the governor and council.

The lenity which prevailed at the general courts martial upon these extraordinary trials, may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. In the preamble to the act of parliament for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the East India Company, a contract seems to be implied as one of the obligations necessary for subjecting an officer, even in pay, to the rules and articles of war. The Court of Directors indeed have of late years thought proper to omit this form, for  
 what

what reason we will not presume to determine, but undoubtedly they were well advised on that head, since they cannot be supposed to have inadvertently frustrated the gracious intention of the legislature in so material a clause, preserving only the authority to maintain an army, without the privilege of enforcing discipline by martial law. Be this as it may, it is evident from the rise and progress of the combination, that the officers paid particular attention to the letter of the mutiny act, hoping so far to avail themselves of the apparent limitation of parliament, as to evade that just severity of punishment, which upon such an occasion, in any other country, must have been unavoidably inflicted ; and could we with propriety animadvert upon the sentences passed by the general courts martial, we should be inclined to observe, that the members themselves must have considered the defect we have here mentioned as a plea on behalf of the prisoners, which, whether urged or not, might render the legality of their proceedings doubtful, and which should therefore incline their judgment to the side of mercy, even against the fullest conviction of guilt in the parties. Had it not been for this tenderness, it is scarcely probable, that out of six officers found guilty of mutiny, and other military offences, not one should have been capitally convicted. Lieutenant Vertue of colonel Smith's brigade, who was tried under lord Clive's warrant, for disobedience of orders and desertion, endeavoured to avail himself of the omission of a contract, protested against the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to plead. The court however rejected the prisoner's protest, and proceeded to the trial. It was proved that he received express orders from his commanding officer,

officer, not to leave the camp ; that he disobeyed those orders, and on the 8th of May, deserted his duty ; that in his letter to colonel Smith of the 6th of May, he agreed to serve to the end of the month, [this was deemed a sufficient contract for that limited time] that he had signed himself as lieutenant in a letter of the 7th of May, addressed to colonel Smith, by the major part of the officers of the Corah detachment ; that he was mustered as a lieutenant in the service on the 1st of May, and that his pay for the month of May had been drawn for in the customary manner. He was hereupon found guilty of the crimes of disobedience of orders and desertion, and sentenced to be cashiered with infamy, by having a sword and esponton broke over his head, and a sash cut in pieces before him, at the head of all the troops cantoned at Bankipore.

When all the trials were finished, lord Clive insisted that a form of contract, for binding the officers to serve a certain time, should be executed throughout the army, excepting only by those gentlemen who did not enter into the combination. These he thought had a right to such a distinction, since they had manifested, by a steady attachment to their duty, at the time of the general infatuation, that a just sense of honour was to them a sufficient contract. The form prescribed was however voluntarily signed by them also ; colonel Smith having publicly invited them by his example : a letter from lord Clive and council to the colonel upon this subject, is inserted in the Appendix, No. 54, and also a copy of the contract, No. 55.

It is now time to take a view of the proceedings of the general court martial, which sat upon the

the trial of lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher for mutiny.

Thomas Goddard, late captain in the first regiment of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being duly sworn, deposed, that in the latter end of December 1765, or in January 1766, the following was the subject of conversation in a company consisting of lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher, captains Roper and Parker, lieutenants Watts, Dunbar, Bevan, and Francis, and Mr. Bagot, surgeon, who dined with him in one of those months: that soon after dinner, to the best of his recollection, the reduction of the batta, and the memorial that had been presented for the recovery of it, was the first subject spoken on by some of the officers present; upon which sir Robert Fletcher said, he thought they would have no effect, although the orders of the company on that head were not positive; that lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher then declared, there was one method to recover it, and that was by a general resignation, which could not fail of success, as the dissension of the civil, joined to that of the military, would carry every thing, and he knew the Madras counsellors, being his friends, would join against lord Clive\*. That the discourse then turned upon the method of resigning, when lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher said, "send me your commissions and I will receive them," and advised the scheme should be put in execution, before the next ships sailed for England, as their carrying home accounts of the batta being

\* N. B. Captain Goddard's evidence here contradicts his evidence to the board; for when Mr. Verelst asked him if he ever heard sir R. Fletcher say that the Madras counsellors would all join against his lordship, he answered positively in the negative.  
—Vide page 71.

reduced, would strengthen lord Clive's interest so much, that it would be in vain to attempt the recovery of it hereafter; and, at parting, he intimated that it might be prejudicial to him to have that conversation repeated. Captain Goddard farther deposed, that sir Robert Fletcher, the same evening, when he went out in a chaise with him, pointed out the readiness of lieutenant Bevan's joining in the resignation, who enjoyed a double post, [brigade major;] and at another time he remembers, that sir Robert Fletcher told him, he knew of all the meetings of the officers, and what passed at them. The same evidence afterwards deposed, farther, that he declared to captain Smith, aid de camp to general Carnac, that lieutenant colonel sir Robert Fletcher was the person who induced him to enter into the combination; that his motive for making such a declaration to captain Smith, was, the arguments made use of by sir Robert Fletcher at his table, already mentioned; particularly sir Robert Fletcher's advancing, that the measure could not fail of success, added to his pointing out the readiness of his brigade major to resign, and another person telling him, in the presence of sir Robert Fletcher, that he (captain Goddard) wanted to get a majority, by the resignation of others, or words to that purpose; and that until that time, captain Goddard had always been averse to the combination; that sir Robert Fletcher, publicly at table, that day expressed his surprize, that he (captain Goddard) had not joined in the combination, as he thought an officer of his spirit should have been the first to have engaged in it; or words to that effect.

Captain Frederick Thomas Smith, aid de camp to general Carnac, being duly sworn, deposed, that on the 13th or 14th of May, captain Goddard

dard acquainted him, in the course of conversation, that he had been led into the resignation of the service by the persuasion of sir Robert Fletcher, contrary to his own inclinations and opinion; the particulars of whose conduct towards him he had made known to major Champion, and captain Pearson, and insisted upon captain Smith's acquainting lord Clive and general Carnac with this, in case he should not have an opportunity of seeing them himself.

Thomas Roper, late captain in the third regiment of infantry, being duly sworn, deposed, that at captain Goddard's table, about the latter end of January, or beginning of February last, when the reduction of the batta, together with the memorial or remonstrances for its recovery that either were presented to the board, or about to be so, became the subject of conversation, sir Robert Fletcher gave it as his opinion that they would prove ineffectual; at the same time intimated, that he did think it recoverable. That this produced a desire of knowing how it was to be accomplished. That sir Robert Fletcher said it was not for him to point out a method, but observed, upon some of the Company's mentioning a resignation, that that was the only method, and that the present dissensions amongst the civilians in Calcutta, would greatly favour such a measure; or words to that effect. That lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher said, in the course of that day's conversation, that he would accept of the commissions, and that whatever was to be done, ought to be finished before the ships sailed. Mr. Roper farther deposed, upon the question's being put to him by the court, that he did hear lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher mention the Madras counsellors, but  
could

could not recollect upon what account; that captain Goddard was averse to the measure (of resignation) before that day, and that he afterwards came into it, but whether from what passed that day he could not determine.

Mr. James Watts, late lieutenant in the first regiment of infantry, being duly sworn, deposed, that in the month of December 1765 or January 1766, he dined with captain Goddard, and lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher was in company. That the conversation happening to turn upon the reduction of the batta, remonstrances and a general resignation were talked of to remove it; when sir Robert Fletcher gave it as his opinion, that if a general resignation should take place, the batta would be restored; and farther said, that he believed the orders respecting the batta were not positive.—That he proposed the commissions should be delivered up at the commencement of a month; that the officers should receive no pay, but serve as volunteers 'till the determination of the governor and council should be known, and that upon those conditions he would accept of the commissions of the officers of the first brigade. Mr. Watts farther deposed, upon the question's being put to him by the court, that he heard the departure of the ships for Europe mentioned by sir Robert Fletcher in that conversation, but that he did not recollect what he said upon the subject; nor did he recollect what sir Robert Fletcher said concerning the dissensions amongst the civilians proving favourable to the resignation, though he recollected to have heard the word *dissension* mentioned: that he did not recollect, that he ever declared he was influenced to resign his commission by lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher,



cher, but that upon the strength of what captain Goddard had told him, he might have declared that captain Goddard was influenced to resign his, though he did not recollect when, or to whom, he ever had made such a declaration.

James Francis, lieutenant in the first regiment of infantry, being duly sworn, deposed, that in conversation which passed some time in December or January, in captain Goddard's tent, sir Robert Fletcher asked captain Goddard what he was afraid of : that he told him there was a method of getting the batta again. Captain Goddard said, he did not know how. Sir Robert Fletcher again said, there was a method, but it was not his place to point it out. That a little time after, sir Robert Fletcher proposed the officers should all resign their commissions, and serve as volunteers till an answer should come from the board, and said there were four counsellors come from Madras, and he would be bound to get their interest for the officers; and then said, that as it was well known to the Company, that lord Clive was no friend of his, he hoped that discourse would go no farther.

Captain Henry Bevan, brigade major to sir Robert Fletcher, being duly sworn, deposed, that he never made sir Robert Fletcher acquainted with the meetings held by the officers of the first brigade, to carry on the business of the resignation; that he did not recollect he ever acquainted sir Robert Fletcher that letters were frequently wrote, and proposals made to the officers of the two other brigades, on the subject of the resignation, or that the officers of the second and third brigades had joined with those of the first, before the 20th of April, about which time the affair was the subject of public conversation, and he

he possibly might have mentioned it. That about the latter end of December, or beginning of January, sir Robert Fletcher came into his room, (he at that time kept his bed) and told him that he heard the officers intended to resign their commissions, on account of the batta being reduced: that sir Robert Fletcher advised him not to enter into it; and to enforce his advice, said, he thought it would be rather an advantage than a disadvantage to the officers that expected to rise high in the service, as it would probably hinder a number of officers coming from Europe over their heads; and that about the twenty-first of April, he informed sir Robert Fletcher, that he had been applied to for his commission, when sir Robert repeated the same advice he had before given.

Mr. James Dunbar, late aid de camp to sir Robert Fletcher, being duly sworn and questioned by the court, deposed, to the best of his recollection, that between the eighteenth and twentieth day of April, he acquainted sir Robert Fletcher, in a private conversation, that the officers had had a meeting, and received favourable accounts from the other brigades. He farther deposed, that he did not doubt but he had mentioned to sir Robert Fletcher, between the eighteenth and twentieth of April, that the officers received letters from the other brigades, and also wrote letters to them on the subject of the resignation. That sir Robert Fletcher knew of his intentions to enter into the association, and advised him against it. That in the month of January, a conversation passed between sir Robert Fletcher and him, upon the subject of a general resignation, when sir Robert told him, that, should a resignation take place,

he thought it would be of no prejudice to those officers who merited well, and might be an opportunity of weeding the army; and that sir Robert always advised him against the measure.

Thus far the evidence in support of the charge, by which it appears that sir Robert Fletcher was well acquainted with the design of the general resignation in the month of December or January; that he himself did propose it as a scheme by which the officers might recover the double batta; that he advised them to send him their commissions, and he would receive them at the beginning of a month; that they should receive no pay for that month, but serve as volunteers till the pleasure of the governor and council should be known; and that the scheme should take place before the next ships sailed for Europe. It likewise appears by the evidence of Dunbar and Bevan, his aid de camp and major of brigade, that sir Robert, about the twentieth of April, or between the eighteenth and twentieth, not only knew that the combination was completed, but that the officers of the first brigade had received favourable answers from those of the other two brigades.

With regard to his having asserted that the four gentlemen in council from Madras, would join against lord Clive, although this article appears to have been well founded, it cannot be material to dwell upon it: his having abetted and promoted the general resignation, or, in other words, his having excited sedition in the army, was the main point of accusation, and admitted of the most incontestable proof.

The extracts of the evidence in support of the charge have been short, though faithful; the material particulars of sir Robert Fletcher's defence

fence also might be extracted in a very narrow compass. But that all imputation of partiality may be avoided, the whole of sir Robert Fletcher's defence, as delivered in to the court martial, is here inserted.

“ Mr. President, and Gentlemen,

“ It is alledged against me, that, in a conversation at captain Goddard's, the end of December or beginning of January, I made use of many arguments to persuade the officers to a general resignation; and some of the evidences particularly depose, that I pointed out to them the dissensions amongst the civilians, and observed that the Madras counsellors were my friends, and would join against lord Clive. The appointment of the Madras gentlemen was not known at Calcutta till the ninth of January, and consequently could not be known at Monghyr till the fifteenth or sixteenth; it must have been several days afterwards before the dissensions among the civilians could have been heard of; and as to the Madras gentlemen joining against lord Clive, they did not take their seats till the twelfth of February. There is an evident contradiction, therefore, between part of these arguments, and the time they are said to have been made use of; allowing however that the evidences have only been mistaken in the time, and that I really made use of the arguments in question, it must have been not in pursuance of my own opinion, but for the reasons I shall hereafter explain, for I never apprehended, that the dissensions among the civilians could make any alterations in the resolutions of the board, with regard to the allowances of the military; nor could I ever

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“ have

“ have been so absurd, as really to have imagin-  
 “ ed that the Madras gentlemen could possibly  
 “ have suffered themselves, in contradiction both  
 “ to their duty and their interest, to be influenced  
 “ in such an affair by friendship for me: to which  
 “ I may add, that I never wrote them on the sub-  
 “ ject, as I must necessarily have done, if I had  
 “ really meant to influence them.

“ The governor and council having thought  
 “ proper to reduce the batta, loud complaints  
 “ were made by the officers; various schemes  
 “ were proposed for the recovery of it; and,  
 “ among others, a general resignation was talked  
 “ of in the month of January, not only at Mong-  
 “ hyr, but (as I have been informed,) at Patna and  
 “ Allahabad also, and even at Calcutta. When  
 “ these rumours came to my hearing, I spoke to  
 “ lieutenants Bevan, Dunbar, and Kyd, on the  
 “ subject, and used my utmost endeavours to dis-  
 “ suade them from joining in such a step; not  
 “ doubting, if I had succeeded with them, but  
 “ that many others would have been induced to  
 “ follow their example: and I observed to them,  
 “ that such officers as had the allowances attach-  
 “ ed to double posts, (which included adjutants,  
 “ quarter-masters, and seapoy subalterns) would  
 “ more particularly incur the displeasure of the  
 “ governor and council; but all was in vain;  
 “ they told me they were determined to resign  
 “ with the rest. The same advice I often repeat-  
 “ ed afterwards, but it was all to no purpose.  
 “ Finding, therefore, that I could not prevail  
 “ with those gentlemen, who being in my family  
 “ and enjoying double posts, would be the least  
 “ affected with the reduction of the batta, and  
 “ over whom I had more influence than over  
 “ any others, and seeing to what a violent degree  
 “ the

" the officers in general were exasperated, I  
 " thought the best thing I could do for the public  
 " good, was to dissemble my own opinion, to  
 " try to keep in their confidence till they had  
 " come to some final resolution; and to moderate  
 " the rage with which they were actuated. To  
 " have endeavoured to stem the torrent would be  
 " productive of no other consequence, than that  
 " they would have gone on in their own way,  
 " without letting me know any thing at all of the  
 " matter. I remembered the violence with which  
 " they had engaged, during the months of March,  
 " April, and May 1765, in an association for re-  
 " signing, on a much more trifling cause, (the  
 " affair of captain M'Pherson) and at a time  
 " when the war with Sujah Dowla was un-  
 " finished.

" As captain M'Pherson's appointment to this  
 " establishment, in a station which another gen-  
 " tleman resigned in order to make room for  
 " him, drove them to such extremities; and as  
 " they persevered in them, even after captain  
 " M'Pherson had, for the sake of peace, volun-  
 " tarily consented to have his former appoint-  
 " ment annulled, and to come in youngest cap-  
 " tain; what might not have been expected from  
 " them in the present case, when they were de-  
 " prived of advantages which they had ever be-  
 " fore enjoyed; and when numbers of them were  
 " involved in debts, from which they had no  
 " prospect of extricating themselves, and were  
 " really reduced to much distress by the scanti-  
 " ness of their allowances? Unreasonable as that  
 " association was, it was a matter of great doubt,  
 " whether it would not have been carried on to  
 " the most dangerous lengths, had not lord Clive's  
 " arrival, the high opinion the officers in general

" entertained of him, and his particular influence  
 " over several individuals, fortunately put a stop  
 " to it. Thus convinced that it was really not in  
 " my power to stop the officers in their career, I  
 " at the same time thought their resignation, if  
 " carried on in so moderate a manner as not to  
 " occasion any disturbance among the troops,  
 " would rather be an advantage than a disadvantage to the service.

" Immediately on my joining the army on this  
 " establishment, in October 1764, I remarked,  
 " with much concern, the great want of order  
 " and subordination amongst the officers: my endeavours to effect a reformation, as far as lay  
 " in my power, have been unintermitted; and it  
 " is well known how continually I have complained of the trouble I met with from the obstinacy and licentiousness of some of them, and how  
 " happy a circumstance I thought it would be for  
 " the good of the service, if such could be  
 " got rid of. Finding admonitions useless, I  
 " deemed it necessary to have recourse to courts  
 " martial, in order to enforce discipline in the  
 " brigade which I commanded, and to prevent  
 " the officers absenting themselves from their duty: for this I received a check from my superiors; and was informed by general Carnac, in  
 " a letter he wrote to me the 6th of November,  
 " that " he would have courts martial reserved  
 " for heinous crimes only, and such as merited  
 " exemplary punishment." My hands being thus  
 " tied up, I began to despair of introducing the  
 " discipline I so much wished for; and therefore,  
 " when the officers talked of resigning, I comforted myself with the hopes that the step, if carried on with moderation, would at least be productive of one good consequence; that it would  
 " be

“ be the means of weeding the army of those gen-  
 “ tlemen who most obstructed the necessary re-  
 “ formation. I doubred not but his lordship  
 “ would think it requisite to oppose with firmness  
 “ the demands of the officers; and these, when  
 “ they found they could not carry their point,  
 “ would be glad to accept of their commissions  
 “ again: they might wish to make their own  
 “ terms; but as the sole dependence of many of  
 “ them was on the Company’s service, they must,  
 “ in the end, be obliged to content themselves  
 “ with what terms they could get. While such  
 “ were my sentiments, I was informed by lieu-  
 “ tenant Kyd, that captain Goddard seemed a-  
 “ verse to join in the scheme of resignation; and  
 “ that his reason was supposed to be, his not hav-  
 “ ing been so particularly consulted on the occa-  
 “ sion, as from his rank in the service he thought  
 “ he had a right to expect. I expressed my sur-  
 “ prise at his not being engaged in it; and said, I  
 “ imagined he would have been the foremost in  
 “ all such undertakings: and, to the best of my  
 “ recollection, lieutenant Kyd at the same time  
 “ observed to me, and I agreed with him in o-  
 “ pinion, that it was not likely he would long per-  
 “ sist in his present resolution. During the course  
 “ of my acquaintance with him, I had so many  
 “ proofs of the violence and fickleness of his dis-  
 “ position, that I made not the least doubt but  
 “ he would heartily join with the rest of the offi-  
 “ cers, the moment they paid him the compli-  
 “ ment he thought his due. I remembered how  
 “ readily he had entered into the former associa-  
 “ tion, in 1765; and I recollected having seen  
 “ his name signed to it in letters most distinguish-  
 “ ingly large, by way of shewing, I imagine, how  
 “ much he gloried in the measure. Two or  
 “ three



“ three days after this conversation with lieutenant  
 “ Kyd, I dined at captain Goddard’s, in com-  
 “ pany with captains Roper and Parker, and lieu-  
 “ tenants Watts, Dunbar, Francis, Ironside, and  
 “ Mr. Bagot (I think, about the 20th or 25th of  
 “ January); after dinner, captain Goddard sud-  
 “ denly addressed himself to me, in the follow-  
 “ ing words, or words to the same purpose;  
 “ What would you do if we were to leave you a-  
 “ lone with the brigade? I answered, I did not  
 “ think that would be a good scheme; that,  
 “ however, there was a method for the recovery  
 “ of their batta, but it was not my business to  
 “ point it out: enquiry being made of me what  
 “ that method was, I advised that they should  
 “ send in their commissions to me at the begin-  
 “ ning of a month, and serve as volunteers, with-  
 “ out pay, till the determination of the governor  
 “ should be known. Captain Parker here inter-  
 “ rupted me, by calling out to captain Goddard,  
 “ that “ he smelt a majority:” Upon which he  
 “ seemed much offended, and replied; That his  
 “ not being consulted, as oldest officer in the  
 “ brigade, was rather slighting him. I then told  
 “ captain Goddard, that I thought there was no-  
 “ thing to fear; and that the officers would pro-  
 “ bably carry their point, if they acted prudent-  
 “ ly, and finished their business before the sailing  
 “ of the Europe ships. I afterwards mentioned  
 “ some other reasons (but what I do not recollect)  
 “ why it appeared likely that the batta might be  
 “ restored, if the officers consented to serve as  
 “ volunteers; and I told them, that upon that  
 “ condition I would accept of their commissions.  
 “ This, to the best of my recollection, is an ex-  
 “ act account of the conversation which then pass-  
 “ ed; and when the company broke up, I desired  
 “ that

“ that what I had there said might go no farther;  
 “ to which, I think, captain Goddard promised  
 “ upon his honour it should not. I have already  
 “ mentioned the opinion which I had before con-  
 “ ceived of the violence with which the officers  
 “ were disposed to act; and such a question as  
 “ that which I have just related being so pub-  
 “ licly put to me, gave me additional cause to  
 “ be alarmed. Not doubting therefore the pro-  
 “ priety of the resolution I had formed, in con-  
 “ sequence of my not being able to dissuade even  
 “ the gentlemen of my own family from joining  
 “ in any schemes of resignation, I used my en-  
 “ deavours to prevail upon them, instead of  
 “ leaving me at once, to serve as volunteers till  
 “ the pleasure of the governor and council should  
 “ be known; concluding, that between the time  
 “ of their lodging their commissions in my hands,  
 “ and their receiving a final answer from the go-  
 “ vernor and council, many of them would re-  
 “ flect more seriously upon what they were about,  
 “ and apply for their commissions again; and  
 “ knowing that it would at least give me time to  
 “ take measures with the non-commissioned offi-  
 “ cers, for preventing any disturbance among the  
 “ troops; and afford some leisure to the gover-  
 “ nor and council to supply their army, if neces-  
 “ sary, by giving commissions to free merchants,  
 “ and by sending for officers from the other pre-  
 “ sidencies.

“ It was with these views only I said at captain  
 “ Goddard’s, that the officers, if they would a-  
 “ dopt the plan I proposed, would probably carry  
 “ their point. That such was not my real opinion  
 “ will appear beyond all contradiction, from my  
 “ avowed sentiments during the former associa-  
 “ tion, and what I said to different gentlemen

“ during the present one. As to my persuading  
 “ the officers to do whatever they were determin-  
 “ ed on before the latter ships were dispatched,  
 “ I had several motives for doing it, with which I  
 “ believe it will be needless for me to trouble the  
 “ court. The most powerful one was, the con-  
 “ sideration of the profound tranquillity which  
 “ then reigned throughout the provinces, and  
 “ which there was no prospect of an enemy to dis-  
 “ turb: I deemed it certain, that the officers  
 “ would attempt the recovery of their batta, and  
 “ thought there could not be a time less likely  
 “ for such an attempt to be productive of any  
 “ mischief to the public. My desiring that what I  
 “ had said at captain Goddard’s might go no farther,  
 “ is insinuated as a proof that I was sensible I had  
 “ been acting in an unjustifiable manner; but it  
 “ proceeded merely from recollecting a little that  
 “ what I had said, might, perhaps, if known, be  
 “ misconstrued to my disadvantage; and my pre-  
 “ sent situation, accused of mutiny for a matter  
 “ in which I acted for the public good, has too  
 “ well convinced me that I ought to have been  
 “ more on my guard. After this, I heard no-  
 “ thing more of the matter, but various unset-  
 “ tled reports, till about the 20th of February;  
 “ when they finally determined to address the  
 “ governor and council: their representation was  
 “ accordingly forwarded about the 25th. From  
 “ that time I was totally ignorant that any other  
 “ schemes were carrying on, till about the 20th  
 “ of April: lieutenant Dunbar then informed me,  
 “ that the officers both of the first and third bri-  
 “ gades had determined on resigning their com-  
 “ missions, and that he had agreed to the reso-  
 “ lution. I reprimanded him in the strongest  
 “ manner for entering into such an association  
 “ without

“ without my knowledge, and contrary to my  
 “ repeated advice. I told him how little pro-  
 “ bability there was of the officers carrying their  
 “ point; and used many arguments, both with  
 “ him and many others with whom I had any  
 “ influence, to dissuade them from persevering  
 “ in it. As to captain Bevan, it was not in his  
 “ power to give me much intelligence; having  
 “ refused to join with them, he was not acquaint-  
 “ ed with their proceedings, nor could advise me  
 “ of any thing but by hearsay. After the 20th,  
 “ it began to be reported that the officers of the  
 “ second brigade had engaged in a like associa-  
 “ tion; but I do not recollect any thing certain  
 “ of them, till the 24th or 25th; when talking  
 “ with a gentleman who had joined with the rest,  
 “ and pretending to be acquainted with every  
 “ thing before, I learned from him that and many  
 “ other circumstances; particularly that the 1st  
 “ of May was fixed upon for resigning, and that  
 “ the officers had some thoughts of serving as  
 “ volunteers till the pleasure of the governor and  
 “ council should be known. While this associa-  
 “ tion was carrying on, the officers concealed  
 “ from me, with the utmost care, their meetings  
 “ and all their measures; and were extremely en-  
 “ raged when they found that I had received  
 “ some information concerning them: a strong  
 “ proof that all I said at captain Goddard’s was  
 “ not sufficient to acquire me their confidence;  
 “ and that they by no means looked upon me as  
 “ a favourer of their proceedings.

“ The particulars of what happened after this,  
 “ it is needless for me to relate. It is well known  
 “ with how much care I used every possible pre-  
 “ caution to prevent any mischief from happen-  
 “ ing, when the officers should leave their bri-  
 “ gade:

“ gade: at the same time, both by letter and  
 “ word of mouth, I constantly declared myself  
 “ perfectly secure on that head; and how active  
 “ I was in bringing back the European troops to  
 “ their duty, when on the 14th of May they took  
 “ to their arms, and seemed disposed to follow  
 “ their officers, in consequence (as they them-  
 “ selves declared) of their having been made to  
 “ believe that I was going with them.

“ I will not trouble the court with any remarks  
 “ on the justness of my opinion, concerning the  
 “ spirit of violence with which the officers in ge-  
 “ neral were actuated, as so many incontestable  
 “ proofs of it have since appeared; but I must  
 “ beg leave to mention a few circumstances, to  
 “ evince how true were my sentiments of captain  
 “ Goddard, and how improbable is his assertion,  
 “ that he should not have joined in the association  
 “ had I not persuaded him to it. He made him-  
 “ self a member of the secret committee, to car-  
 “ ry on a correspondence with the other brigades,  
 “ and offered to carry off his battalion, if the rest  
 “ would do the same; declaring, he was sure it  
 “ would follow him all over India. About the  
 “ 12th of May, taking a ride in my chaise with  
 “ Mr. Bevan, I stopt at a tope (or grove) where  
 “ captain Goddard was; and in the course of  
 “ conversation, having expressed my opinion, that  
 “ lord Clive would never give up the point to  
 “ them; he answered by using some expressions  
 “ which I repeated to captain Bevan immedi-  
 “ ly, and which the more convinced me of his  
 “ violence. After these instances of his ungo-  
 “ vernable temper, let it be considered, whether  
 “ it is not much more likely that he was induced  
 “ to join with the rest by his own disposition,  
 “ than by the few arguments I used at his table;  
 “ where

“ where I should not have said any thing at all,  
 “ had I not been apprehensive of greater vio-  
 “ lences, both from him and from the rest of the  
 “ officers ; and had not he in a manner obliged  
 “ me to do it, by asking me the question I have  
 “ related. If he acted in pursuance of my ad-  
 “ vice, why did he so carefully conceal from me  
 “ all the measures that were carrying on in A-  
 “ pril ? And why did he strictly enjoin serjeant  
 “ Hardy, who was employed to carry some of  
 “ their select committee letters, to be particularly  
 “ careful that I did not come to the knowledge  
 “ of them ? As to captain Goddard’s assertion,  
 “ that I pointed out to him in the chaise captain  
 “ Bevan’s readiness to join in the association ;  
 “ and Mr. Bagot’s, that at captain Goddard’s  
 “ table I told them Messieurs Bevan and Dunbar  
 “ should be the first to resign, they are certainly  
 “ mistakes. I am very sure that I never said any  
 “ such thing : indeed it is not to be conceived  
 “ that I should ; for I all along used my utmost  
 “ endeavours to prevent those gentlemen from  
 “ having any concern in the measures that were  
 “ taken ; and I cannot but think it a little  
 “ strange, that Mr. Bagot, who sat next to cap-  
 “ tain Parker, at the lower end of two tables,  
 “ whilst captain Goddard and I sat at the upper  
 “ end, should be the only person to remember  
 “ so remarkable a circumstance.

“ Captain Goddard’s assertion, relative to me-  
 “ morials, must also be a mistake. The conver-  
 “ sation in question happened about the 20th or  
 “ 25th of January ; and the first memorial pre-  
 “ sented was dated about the 25th of February.  
 “ I do not recollect indeed that memorials were  
 “ at all mentioned ; however it is a matter of no  
 “ consequence ; for if they had, I should certain-  
 “ ly

" ly have advised against them ; as I concluded  
 " that lord Clive and the council would not re-  
 " peal their resolution ; and imagined the officers  
 " who seemed determined upon the recovery of  
 " the batta, would only be exasperated the  
 " more.

" Captain Goddard must also be mistaken in  
 " what he mentioned of my advising the scheme  
 " to be put into execution before the next ships  
 " sailed, as their carrying home accounts of the  
 " batta being reduced would strengthen his lord-  
 " ship's interest so much, that it would be im-  
 " possible to attempt the recovery of it afterwards.  
 " The Grenville and Kent, which carried the news  
 " of the reduction of the batta, were dispatched  
 " the 29th of January, and it was thought would  
 " have been dispatched much sooner ; so that it  
 " was impossible for any scheme to have been put  
 " in execution in time. To this I may add,  
 " that I can bring proofs, if necessary, that I  
 " have not been actuated with that spirit of party  
 " which captain Goddard seems to insinuate.  
 " I am astonished at captain Goddard's asserting,  
 " that he wanted to make known the circum-  
 " stances of his present deposition, to lord Clive  
 " and general Carnac, but was prevented by be-  
 " ing ordered away from Monghyr. After the  
 " conversation which I have already mentioned  
 " to have passed between us, the 12th or 13th of  
 " May, he told me he intended going to Patna :  
 " being very glad to get rid of him, I encouraged  
 " him in his intention, and advised him to go  
 " that very evening ; soon after leaving him, I  
 " met captain Pearson walking with another gen-  
 " tleman, and told him I should send orders to  
 " major Champion, to appoint him to the com-  
 " mand of captain Goddard's battalion. To the  
 " best

" best of my recollection, while I was talking to  
 " captain Pearson, captain Goddard came gal-  
 " loping up, and said he had altered his mind,  
 " and would not go to Patna ; I told him he was  
 " very fickle, and then proceeded on to Monghyr.  
 " In the evening he came into the fort, in con-  
 " tradiction to express orders, which had been  
 " given out, that no officer should leave the de-  
 " tachment. Apprehending he was come with  
 " some bad design, I placed hircarabs (or spies)  
 " upon him, to give me intelligence what he was  
 " about ; and some time afterwards, finding he  
 " did not go out of the fort of his own accord,  
 " I sent captain Smith to order him out. The  
 " next morning, in consequence of directions I  
 " had received from lord Clive, to send down  
 " to Calcutta such of the captains as had been  
 " most active, I ordered captain Goddard and  
 " five other officers to prepare themselves to set  
 " out for Calcutta at five o'clock in the after-  
 " noon ; an hour or two afterwards I received  
 " another letter from lord Clive, " hoping the  
 " officers would remain on duty till his arrival ;"  
 " whereupon I immediately wrote a letter to cap-  
 " tain Goddard and the other officers, requesting  
 " they would stay till his lordship's arrival, which  
 " I assured them would be the next day. I soon  
 " after met captain Goddard in one of the squares,  
 " engaged in altercation with captain Stainforth,  
 " whom he accused of intending to stay behind  
 " the rest of the officers : after some other con-  
 " versation, I asked him whether he had shewn my  
 " letter to the officers ; he told me that I should  
 " soon have an answer to it. Some time after,  
 " while I was sitting at dinner, he came to me  
 " with captain-lieutenant Skinner ; I asked them  
 " if the officers intended complying with my re-  
 " quest ;



“quest; captain Skinner told me that he believed they would; upon which captain Goddard immediately said to him, “answer for yourself, I do not believe they will.” I asked him, who would not? He replied, “captain Goddard will not.” I have since been informed, that at the meeting that was held to consider of it, he declared, that if no body else would, he would go alone.

“These circumstances I have mentioned thus particularly, in order to shew how little foundation there is for his asserting, that he was prevented from informing lord Clive, &c. by being ordered away from Monghyr.

“As to my expressing my surprize, that an officer of captain Goddard’s spirit did not join in the resignation, I do not recollect such an expression was made use of by me at the conversation held at captain Goddard’s tent.

“It is very true, that about the 30th of April I told captain Goddard that I knew of all the meetings of the officers, and what passed at them. Some particulars came to my knowledge, as I have already related, about the 24th or 25th of April, and some about the 27th. However, I have since learned, there were many other circumstances with which I was then unacquainted.

“Whether captain Nowlan ever made the speech which Mr. Watts mentions, I do not know, but I am certain that I never heard him.

“I do not recollect that lieutenant Dunbar ever informed me, before he went to Patna, of more than one meeting, and that was in the month of January.

“There

" There is one circumstance I must take the  
 " liberty of mentioning, by way of proof that I  
 " have the good of the service at heart, and am  
 " not capable of advising any measure detrimental  
 " to it, to gratify my private purposes. I offer-  
 " ed to pay out of my own pocket the penalty  
 " bonds of six gentlemen, captain Stainforth,  
 " lieutenant Shrimpton, Mr. M'Pherson, Dunbar,  
 " Kyd, and ensign Patten, amounting to 24,000  
 " rupees, in order to induce them to quit the as-  
 " sociation, although I was at the same time sen-  
 " sible of its being very uncertain, whether or  
 " not those gentlemen would ever be able to re-  
 " pay me.

" I am sorry to have troubled the court with  
 " so long a detail, nor should I have done it, had  
 " not I judged it necessary, in order to shew how  
 " much the whole tenor of my conduct contra-  
 " dicts the charge which has been brought against  
 " me. I have only one thing more to remark ;  
 " that in the conversation which passed at captain  
 " Goddard's, I never advised any association,  
 " much less such violent ones as afterwards took  
 " place ; and that I have often expressed my opi-  
 " nion, that the officers who were determined up-  
 " on resigning, should have sent in their com-  
 " missions one by one, instead of combining to do  
 " it in a body.

" Can officers in the company's service, not  
 " bound by any contract, legally resign their  
 " commissions without the consent of the gover-  
 " nor and council, or are they guilty of mutiny  
 " in doing it ? If they are not, can a person be  
 " guilty of mutiny in only advising them to it ? —  
 " Our government itself, I think, has in a great  
 " degree acknowledged, that the officers might  
 " resign their commissions, by resolving to oblige

“ them in future to sign contracts, and by putting the resignation of the officers of the first brigade in public orders at the presidency.

“ But I will dwell no longer on this subject, of which you, gentlemen, must be the best judges, as I am very happy in the clearness of my own conscience, and in confidence that I shall be able to justify my own conduct, without having recourse to such arguments, by the testimony of the witnesses, which I now beg leave to call upon.”

It now remains to be shewn how far sir Robert Fletcher hath, by the testimony of witnesses, justified his conduct.

Mr. George Vansittart, factor in the company's service, being sworn by the court, and questioned by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that during the time he was with sir Robert Fletcher, in the months of January and February 1765, he often heard him complain of the irregularities of many of the officers, and their inattention to their duty, and that he has frequently repeated the same complaints in letters, which he has received from him in the course of the year 1765. As to wishing to get rid of some of them for the public good, he was certain that sir Robert Fletcher often spoke of the great plague and trouble he met with from some of them, and the difficulty of getting them to comply with their duty; and that he understood, from the general tenor of sir Robert Fletcher's words and letters, that he did wish to get rid of some of them, that he might the more easily establish a proper discipline: that as to the late association, he never wrote to him for or against it: that with regard to the association in 1765, he wrote to him, on the 14th of May, that he entirely disapproved of it, and that the go-

vernor and council must either support their authority or give it up: that with regard to the civil disputes, he received a letter from sir Robert Fletcher in November 1765, mentioning his having heard of the disputes at the board, and wishing that all dissensions were put an end to there, for the public good, as peace and unanimity were established at home; and that this was the only letter he remembered to have received from sir Robert Fletcher on civil disputes: that he did not recollect to have heard captain Goddard declare his opinion of the reduction of the batta; he remembered a few days after his arrival at Calcutta, his speaking of the officers serving as volunteers, as a measure that had obstructed their success.

Captain Bevan being questioned by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that sir Robert Fletcher, before he dined at captain Goddard's, advised him (Bevan) in the strongest terms, not to be concerned in the resignation: that in December, previous to this advice, he assured him that neither he, nor the other gentlemen of his family, lieutenants Kyd and Dunbar, should lose by the reduction of the batta, as he would take care to make it up to them another way: that, notwithstanding all sir Robert Fletcher's arguments against a resignation, he believes he told him, in the month of January, when sir Robert came into his room, that he could not but resign with the rest: that sir Robert Fletcher has frequently complained of the irregularities of the officers; and to the best of his knowledge, he, sir Robert Fletcher, has wished to get rid of some of them, in hopes of reforming the rest: that he dined with lieutenant Shrimpton the same day sir Robert Fletcher dined with captain Goddard, in January; that he did not remember to have heard

mention made of an intention of the officers to serve as volunteers, before that day: that in January, when the officers of the first brigade complained of the reduction of the batta, he imagined they seemed determined at all events to recover it or quit the service: that to the best of his recollection, when it came to sir Robert's knowledge, in April, that the officers had engaged in an association, he expressed his surprise at its being carried on without his knowledge; and that he believed sir Robert then expressed his firm belief that a resignation of commissions had been entirely laid aside: that, a day or two after the time when he (Bevan) was applied to for his commission, he thinks sir Robert Fletcher might have said, that he could not then believe the resignation would actually take place: that, towards the latter end of April, he heard sir Robert Fletcher use arguments with lieutenant Knott, to prevent his joining with the rest: that on the morning when sir Robert Fletcher heard that the officers had written to Madras, to prevent those of that establishment from coming to Bengal, he immediately wrote a letter to his brother, and forwarded it to lord Clive.

The original letter, which was laid before the court, was as follows :

“ My dear brother,

“ Having been this moment informed, that  
 “ letters are written to Madras by some of our  
 “ military gentry, advising those of your establishment, that an association will certainly take  
 “ place here, for resigning all commissions, unless the double batta be restored, and representing to you the hardships of the service in  
 “ such strong colours as to prevent, if possible,  
 your

“ your complying with orders that may be sent  
 “ for the removal of some of your officers hither,  
 “ I must entreat you by every tie, public as well  
 “ as private, to exert yourself in rendering such  
 “ letters ineffectual, and to prevail on your  
 “ brother officers to fly to Bengal with the  
 “ same zeal and chearfulness as if you were  
 “ taking a voyage for the defence of your native  
 “ country.

I remain, &c.

“ Monghyr,  
 “ 3d May, 1766.

(signed) Rob. Fletcher.”

Captain Bevan, the questions being still put  
 to him by sir Robert Fletcher, farther deposed,  
 that he believed sir Robert Fletcher told him, on  
 the 24th or 25th of April, that he had received  
 private intelligence from a gentleman, that the  
 officers were to deliver in their commissions to  
 him on the first day of May; that a day or two  
 before the resignation, sir Robert Fletcher told  
 him, he had heard of an intended mutiny, but  
 could give no credit to the report; that after the  
 affair of the resignation became public, he often  
 heard sir Robert Fletcher say, it was his firm be-  
 lief that lord Clive would never give up the point  
 to the officers; that he believed sir Robert Flet-  
 cher, after the resignation took place, mentioned  
 to him, that lord Clive had got a fine opportuni-  
 ty of weeding the army, which would be of great  
 advantage to the service; that on the 12th or 13th  
 of May, when sir Robert Fletcher, and he (Be-  
 van) rode out in the chaise, they stopt in the tope  
 (or grove) where captain Goddard was encamp-  
 ed, that sir Robert Fletcher talked to captain  
 Goddard in private about eight or nine minutes,  
 and immediately returned to his chaise; soon af-  
 ter which, to the best of his recollection, he in-

formed him, that captain Goddard had asked leave to go to Patna, to avoid, as he said, seeing lord Clive and general Carnac ; and that he had not only granted it, but urged his setting off that very evening ; that he also said he was happy in the thought of having captain Pearson at the head of his battalion ; that when captain Goddard came into the fort that night, contrary to orders, sir Robert Fletcher expressed his fears that he would be about no good, and ordered him (Bevan) to place hircarrahs (or spies) over him ; that he remembers sir Robert Fletcher soon after sent captain Smith, he believed, with orders to captain Goddard to leave the garrison ; and that he, that night, sent secret orders to major Champion to be watchful over captain Goddard's battalion ; that he had often heard sir Robert Fletcher, in January, and afterwards, speak of captain Goddard in very unfavourable terms ; and he believes that, towards the latter end of April, sir Robert Fletcher gave it as his opinion, that lord Clive would find no difficulty in getting as many officers to return to the service as he pleased ; that on the 14th (May) in the morning, after sir Robert Fletcher had ordered captain Goddard and some other officers to set off for Calcutta by five o'clock that evening, he wrote a letter to captain Goddard and the rest of the officers of the brigade, requesting it as a favour they would remain till next day, when he assured them lord Clive would arrive ; that he believes when sir Robert Fletcher, in the month of January, advised him against joining in the resignation, he told him, that those in particular who enjoyed double posts would incur the displeasure of the governor and council, and not be re-admitted into the service ; that, to the best of his

his

his knowledge, after the first of May, when the officers had given in their commissions to sir Robert Fletcher, he (sir Robert) expressed his surprise that they had sent them in a bundle, observing, that he expected every one would have given in his own, or words to that purpose.

The honourable Charles Stuart, writer in the Company's service, being sworn, and the question being put by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that he had often heard sir Robert Fletcher, particularly in November 1765, complain of the licentiousness of many of the officers, and wish to get rid of them, in hopes thereby of establishing discipline and good order among the rest.

Captain Henry Watson, quarter-master-general, being sworn, and the question being put by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that he often heard sir Robert Fletcher complain of the irregularities of the officers of the first brigade, and their inattention to his orders; that this was a little while before the association; and that he even heard him mention the same some months before that time; but that he cannot charge his memory with sir Robert Fletcher's having wished to get rid of some of them, in hopes thereby of establishing discipline among the rest.

Mr. James Dunbar being recalled into court, and the questions being put by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that whilst he acted as sir Robert Fletcher's aid de camp, sir Robert often expressed his uneasiness to him on account of the irregularities of some of the officers of the first brigade; that he frequently said he was determined at all risques, for his own peace and quiet, to effect a reformation, or words to that purpose; that upon receipt of a letter from general Carnac, regarding



garding courts-martial, he said he was made uneasy by it, or words to that purpose; that to the best of his recollection, in the month of January, before he dined with sir Robert Fletcher at captain Goddard's, sir Robert told him, if those who held double posts resigned the service, they in particular would not be re-admitted, or words to that purpose; that, to the best of his recollection, he told sir Robert Fletcher he could not subsist without his double post, or words to that effect; that when he told sir Robert Fletcher, in the month of April, that he had agreed to join with the rest of the officers engaged in the resignation, sir Robert reprimanded him for so doing in the strongest terms, and told him, that he expected a very different conduct both from him and Mr. Kyd, or words to that purpose; that to the best of his recollection, the day he dined in captain Goddard's tent with sir Robert Fletcher, he sat next to captain Roper, who sat next to captain Goddard; that with regard to the conversation between captain Goddard and sir Robert Fletcher, the first thing that passed was captain Goddard's asking sir Robert Fletcher what he would do, supposing all the officers of the brigade were to leave him; to which sir Robert Fletcher replied, that would not be a good scheme. He said, better give in your commissions to me, and serve as volunteers till the pleasure of the governor and council is known; and that then, a little after this, sir Robert Fletcher said, if the officers resigned before the ships sailed for Europe, it was probable they would carry their point, or words to that purpose; that he understood from captain Goddard's conversation, that he thought himself ill used in not being consulted on the occasion, he being the oldest captain present; that,

to the best of his recollection, he heard sir Robert Fletcher, in January, give lieutenant Kyd advice against resigning the service ; that he was present at a meeting of the officers, when upon sir Robert Fletcher and captain Bevan passing through the square, where it was held, the doors were immediately shut, and the lights put out, to prevent its coming to sir Robert Fletcher's knowledge.

Mr. James Watts being recalled into court, and the questions being put by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that he heard captain Goddard say, as a reason for his not joining sooner with the officers in the resignation, that he thought himself slighted, in not being particularly consulted, as the oldest officer, or words to that purpose ; that he has heard captain Goddard make use of some such expressions as these ; viz. that it was the officers own fault if they did not carry their point ; that he has heard some officers say, before the first of May, but he cannot remember who, that they were apprehensive sir Robert Fletcher would make them prisoners, and not accept of their commissions ; that, supposing the public officers of sir Robert Fletcher's family had not entered into the association, he cannot pretend to say what effect their example might have had upon him before he had engaged himself in the association ; but after he had, neither their example, nor what sir Robert Fletcher could have said, would have prevented him from adhering to his engagements ; and that, during the time he was at Monghyr, sir Robert Fletcher dined with him once only.

William Patton, ensign in the first regiment of infantry, being duly sworn, and questioned by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that if the public  
officers

officers of sir Robert Fletcher's family had not entered into the association, this deponent would not have engaged in it; that in the beginning of January, when the officers first had a meeting, the reason given by the officers why captain Goddard did not join with the rest was, that he (Goddard) thought he should have been particularly consulted; and as he was the oldest captain, he expected the rest of the officers should have met at his tent; that sir Robert Fletcher sent for this deponent about the 22d of April, and advised him to have no concern in the association; that sir Robert Fletcher proposed to advance him 500l. in order that he might pay the penalty bond, provided he would disengage himself from the association; but that he could not accept the offer, as he considered himself as farther bound; that when the officers were carrying on the scheme of resignation, they used much precaution to keep it from the knowledge of sir Robert Fletcher; that towards the end of April, when the officers first knew their proceedings had come to the knowledge of sir Robert Fletcher, they seemed afraid of being sent down to Calcutta, and expressed great resentment against the informer; that on the 14th of May, when the officers were deliberating upon sir Robert Fletcher's letter, requesting they would stay till the arrival of lord Clive, this deponent heard captain Goddard say, that, though all the officers should agree to stay, he would go away alone; and that when sir Robert Fletcher advised him against resigning, he (sir Robert) told him, that as he enjoyed a double allowance, as a seapoy officer, he would, by quitting the service, so far incur the displeasure of the governor and council as never to be admitted into the service again, or words to that effect.

Allen M'Pherson, lieutenant in the first regiment of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being duly sworn, and questioned by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that the officers seemed determined to have the batta restored, or quit the service; that he thinks, if the public officers of sir Robert Fletcher's family had not entered into the association, he should not have engaged in it; that sir Robert Fletcher sent to this deponent, between the 20th and 25th of April, and advised him to have no concern in the association; and that sir Robert sent for him again in May, and advised him by no means to suffer this deponent's brother to leave the brigade, and at the same time offered to advance him money to pay the 500 l. penalty which he would be liable to incur by retracting.

John Shrimpton, lieutenant in the first regiment of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being duly sworn, and questioned by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that about the 20th or 25th of April, sir Robert Fletcher sent for this deponent, and assured him, that it was his (sir Robert's) opinion, lord Clive would never give way to the combination of the officers; and that to the best of his knowledge, he told sir Robert Fletcher, that he could not retract at that time; and that in the beginning of May sir Robert Fletcher offered to advance this deponent money to pay the 500 l. penalty, which he was liable to incur by retracting.

Captain Frederick Thomas Smith, being recalled into court, and the questions being put to him by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that, during the time he was at Monghyr (between the 11th and 17th of May, 1766) sir Robert Fletcher's conduct, in regard to his preventing and quelling disturbances among the officers and soldiers, was,  
in

in every respect, becoming the character of a good officer; that sir Robert Fletcher sent this deponent with positive orders to turn captain Goddard out of the fort at Monghyr; and that on the 14th of May, about dinner time, sir Robert Fletcher shewed captain Goddard lord Clive's letter, requesting the officers to stay till his lordship's arrival at Monghyr.

Moses Crawford, late surgeon's assistant, now ensign in the first regiment of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being duly sworn, and questioned by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, That sir Robert sent for this deponent twice, and made use of several arguments with him to accept a commission, which at last induced him to enter into the army; and that sir Robert Fletcher appointed two sergeants to act as officers at the same time.

Philip Muskard, lieutenant fire-worker in the first company of artillery, being sworn, and the questions put to him by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, That sir Robert Fletcher sent for this deponent on the 14th of May, at which time he was a conductor of artillery; and also sent for Mr. Rashfield, another conductor, and offered to appoint them to act as officers.

James Crawford, lieutenant in the fourth battalion of seapoys, being sworn, deposed, That on the 13th of May he received orders from sir Robert Fletcher, dated the 10th or 11th of May, to join the brigade with all possible expedition; and that he began his march on the 13th (May) in consequence of orders from lord Clive, dated the 9th of May; that he arrived at Monghyr, which is between 50 and 60 coss distant from his post, on the 17th; and that, upon his arrival, sir Robert Fletcher used many arguments with him to continue in the service.

George

George Brown, lieutenant in the first regiment of infantry, being sworn, deposed, That on the 1st of May he was stationed at Tarrapore, and that he received orders from sir Robert Fletcher for recalling him to Monghyr; that he arrived there on the 16th or 17th of May, and that upon his arrival, sir Robert Fletcher used many arguments with him to remain in the service.

Alexander Hardy, late ensign in the first, now of the second regiment of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being sworn, and questioned, by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, That he copied a letter for captain Goddard, addressed to the officers of the third brigade; and that captain Goddard enjoined him to conceal the contents of it from every one, particularly from the colonel; and being asked, who did he suppose captain Goddard meant by the colonel? he replied, lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher.

Thomas Carnegie, surgeon to the Patna factory, being sworn, and the questions put to him by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, that about the latter end of January, to the best of his remembrance, he heard it publicly talked of at Calcutta, that the officers intended to resign and send down their commissions.

Philip Daniel, sergeant in lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher's company in the first regiment of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being sworn, and questioned by sir Robert Fletcher, deposed, That on the 14th of May he observed a great part of the regiment got under arms, in a tumultuous, mutinous manner; and soon after, sir Robert Fletcher appeared on the parade, and demanded the reason of their unsoldierlike behaviour: he told them, that it was his desire they should return to their barracks; and assured them,

that if every officer of the brigade should leave them, he would stay with them; upon which the regiment did return to their barracks: the deponent further said, he has heard a good many of the regiment, he believes the major part of them, say, that if it was not for the particular regard they had for the colonel, they would every man have gone away with the officers; and that on the 14th of May two volunteers, Mess. Haldam and Skinner, were appointed to act as officers.

The sum of these evidences is, That sir Robert Fletcher had frequently complained of the irregularities of many of the officers, and their inattention to their duty—that he wished to get rid of some of them, in order to establish a proper discipline;—that before the time of his dining with captain Goddard in January, he advised his major of brigade (captain Bevan) not to be concerned in the resignation; and in April following, expressed his surprise, that an association was formed; his expectation being, that the officers would each deliver in his own commission, and not resign in a body—that upon captain Goddard's asking him, what he would do if all the officers of the brigade were to leave him? he replied, that would not be a good scheme—that they had better give in their commissions to him, and serve as volunteers till the pleasure of the governor and council should be known—and that, if they resigned before the ships sailed for Europe, it was probable they would carry their point—that he used arguments with several of his officers to dissuade them from resigning—that in order to prevail upon Mess. Patton, M'Pherson, and Shrimpton, to continue in the service, and to indemnify them for relinquishing the association, he offered to advance to each of them the 500 l. which

which they were severally liable to pay for retracting—that on the third of May he wrote a strong letter to his brother on the coast, conjuring him to counteract the efforts making by the Bengal officers, to prevent those of Madras from coming to supply their places—that upon the 14th May, in consequence of a letter from lord Clive, he desired the officers to do duty till next day, when his lordship would arrive—and that, when the European regiment (the 14th May) got under arms in a tumultuous manner, he exerted himself to preserve discipline and prevent a mutiny.

Sir Robert Fletcher having acquainted the court, That he had no more evidences to call upon, the judge advocate replied, “ That most  
“ of the points which had been endeavoured to  
“ be proved against sir Robert Fletcher remain-  
“ ing uncontroverted, he did not trouble the  
“ court with the examination of any evidences in  
“ reply. He only begged leave to observe,  
“ That it appeared to the court, upon the joint  
“ evidence of captain Goddard, captain Roper,  
“ captain Bevan, Mr. Dunbar, and other evi-  
“ dences, that a scheme of resignation of com-  
“ missions came to the knowledge of sir Robert  
“ Fletcher in the month of January last; and that  
“ sir Robert Fletcher had not made it appear to  
“ the court, that he, at that or any other period  
“ of time, made lord Clive, or general Carnac,  
“ or the governor and council, acquainted there-  
“ with.” Upon which sir Robert Fletcher made the following observation.

“ As I was not charged, in the course of the  
“ evidence against me, with neglecting to give  
“ due information to lord Clive, &c. in January  
“ last, I did not think it at all necessary to trouble



“ the court on that head. In answer to the first  
 “ part of the judge advocate’s observation, I  
 “ must remark, that no scheme of resignation  
 “ came to my knowledge in January last; nor  
 “ was any scheme formed. Mr. Dunbar did  
 “ mention something to me of a meeting of the  
 “ officers in January last; but at that meeting  
 “ not a word of resignation was mentioned, nor  
 “ any scheme whatsoever proposed. In this state  
 “ of uncertainty did things continue until a day  
 “ or two after I dined with captain Goddard,  
 “ when I was assured that the officers had deter-  
 “ mined to address the governor and council,  
 “ and it was my wishes that so disagreeable a sub-  
 “ ject should go from themselves, rather than  
 “ from me, to his lordship: as a proof of which,  
 “ I advised their sending their address immedi-  
 “ ately (and not through me) to the general.  
 “ The general’s answer was in the like manner  
 “ addressed to them. Had the talk of a general  
 “ resignation been confined to Monghyr, I should  
 “ certainly have written to his lordship as soon  
 “ as I heard of it; but at that very time, the  
 “ subject was publicly spoken of every where  
 “ else; and as I was then well informed, parti-  
 “ cularly in Calcutta, and could not possibly escape  
 “ his lordship’s ears. I thought it therefore much  
 “ better for me to remain quiet, and keep in their  
 “ confidence till they had come to some deter-  
 “ mination, than prematurely to trouble his  
 “ lordship with rumours which I knew were pub-  
 “ lic, and for which I imagined I should not  
 “ have been thanked, particularly as I had but  
 “ a short time before got a severe reprimand from  
 “ the committee, for writing on the subject of  
 “ the batta of the commanding officers of the  
 “ brigades; and, as a farther proof of the just-  
 “

“ nefs of that opinion, I fhall obferve to the  
 “ court, that when his lordfhip was at Chuprah,  
 “ I mentioned in one of my letters to him, that  
 “ the officers of the regiment complained again  
 “ of the infufficiency of their allowance, for  
 “ which I got another reprimand, and was told,  
 “ that he was furprifed at my mentioning a sub-  
 “ ject which I knew the board was determined  
 “ to difcourage. It was not till very near the  
 “ time of my dining with captain Goddard that  
 “ I gave over hopes of diffuading my own fami-  
 “ ly, by which I fhould have brought the whole  
 “ to nothing; and it was my refolution to have  
 “ given lord Clive an account of that day’s con-  
 “ verfation immediately, had I not found, that,  
 “ inftead of adopting the fcheme which I propof-  
 “ ed, they had determined to addrefs the board.  
 “ About the 24th of April I informed his lord-  
 “ fhip, that the officers had three months before  
 “ talked of refigning, if their batta was not re-  
 “ stored; and his lordfhip at that time entirely  
 “ approved of my conduct. In like manner,  
 “ when the officers determination to refign came  
 “ to my knowledge, about the 20th of April, I  
 “ firft of all ufed my endeavours to break it off  
 “ myfelf, by perfuading all, over whom I had  
 “ the leaft influence, not to perfift in it, till find-  
 “ ing I could not fucceed, and being affured by  
 “ the additional information which I received  
 “ the 24th or 25th, that they would certainly put  
 “ their fcheme in execution, I then gave imme-  
 “ diate notice to his lordfhip. I muft remark,  
 “ that in one of my letters to his lordfhip, be-  
 “ fore his arrival at Monghyr, about the 12th  
 “ or 13th of May, I did inform him that I had  
 “ once pretended to enter into fome of their in-  
 “ tended meafures, in order to gain their confi-  
 “ dence,

“ dence, and mentioned it again to him at  
 “ Monghyr. I farther beg leave to inform the  
 “ court, that lord Clive found it needless to an-  
 “ swer my letter of the 12th or 13th of May, be-  
 “ cause his lordship expected to be in Monghyr  
 “ himself the next day. On the 15th, when his  
 “ lordship arrived, I, among other remarks, re-  
 “ peated to his lordship what I mentioned in that  
 “ letter, and his lordship expressed himself en-  
 “ tirely satisfied with my conduct.

“ The court then enquired of lieutenant-co-  
 “ lonel sir Robert Fletcher, if he could produce  
 “ any proofs of lord Clive’s having expressed  
 “ himself entirely satisfied with his conduct; to  
 “ which sir Robert Fletcher replied, no he could  
 “ not, as it was a private conversation between  
 “ lord Clive and him; and this did not occur to  
 “ sir Robert Fletcher, until the president asked  
 “ him if lord Clive answered his letter of the 12th  
 “ or 13th of May.

“ Sir Robert Fletcher then begged leave to  
 “ lay before the court, an extract from his let-  
 “ ter to lord Clive\*, dated the 25th of April,  
 “ together with his lordship’s answer†, and de-  
 “ fired that the court would admit of their being  
 “ entered upon the face of the proceedings;  
 “ which being agreed to, they were entered ac-  
 “ cordingly.”

It has not in the course of our narrative ap-  
 peared, nor have we seen it on the trial attempt-  
 ed to be proved, that sir Robert Fletcher gave  
 any information to his colonel, or to the com-  
 mander in chief (previous to his letter to lord  
 Clive, dated the 25th of April) that the officers  
 had entered into a general combination to resign

\* See Appendix, No. 6.

† Ditto, No. 9.

their commissions ; and even that letter was not written till colonel sir Robert Barker had taken the alarm, as appears by his letter to sir Robert Fletcher of the 21st (Appendix No. 7.)

Sir Robert Fletcher in his letter of the 14th of May tells lord Clive, that so long ago as January he heard, " The whole were to form a plan of quitting the brigades without giving any warning." This surely was a combination of a very alarming nature, and the intelligence ought to have been communicated to the governor ; but sir Robert did not communicate it even to his colonel. In the month of June, when he finds that reports are circulated to his prejudice, he endeavours, by his letter to lord Clive, dated the 22d, to invalidate those reports ; and, amongst other arguments, in vindication of his conduct, advances the following : " As for the combination itself, it was near the end of April before I knew any thing of it." How are these palpable contradictions to be reconciled ? Let us look into his trial ; let us read his defence ; there we find them multiplied : for when the judge advocate observed to the court, that upon the joint evidence of captain Goddard, captain Roper, captain Bevan, Mr. Dunbar, and others, that a scheme of resignation of commissions came to the knowledge of sir Robert Fletcher in the month of January ; and that sir Robert Fletcher had not made it appear to the court, that he, at that or any other period of time, made lord Clive, general Carnac, or the governor and council, acquainted therewith, sir Robert Fletcher replied, " I must remark that no scheme of resignation came to my knowledge in January last, nor was any scheme then formed. Mr. Dunbar did mention something

“ to me of a meeting of the officers in January last ; but at that meeting not a word of resignation was mentioned, nor any scheme what-ever proposed.” The most favourable interpretation that can be put upon these contradictions is very equivocal ; viz. that he heard in January, the whole were to form a plan of quitting the brigades, without giving any warning ; but that he did not hear the plan was actually formed in January ; and farther, that no scheme of resignation came to his knowledge, although the intention to form a plan of quitting the brigades without giving any warning, did come to his knowledge.—To reconcile this seeming contradiction, we must suppose sir Robert Fletcher means to set up a distinction between a scheme of resignation, and a scheme of desertion ; the former he did not hear of, the latter he did. But Mr. Dunbar, his own aid de camp, has positively sworn, “ that in the month of January, a conversation did pass between sir Robert Fletcher and him, upon the subject of a general resignation ;” and his major of brigade, captain Bevan, has positively sworn, “ that about the latter end of December, or beginning of January, “ sir Robert Fletcher came into his room (he then keeping his bed), and told him that he “ heard the officers intended to resign their commissions, on account of the batta being reduced.”

That a general resignation of the officers of the first brigade was the subject of conversation, at captain Goddard’s table, in January ; that sir Robert Fletcher discoursed with them upon the subject, and proposed to them a scheme for conducting it, has been proved by the depositions of the whole company : sir Robert himself acknowledges

"edges as much, and likewise that he knew of the  
 intention of the officers, even before that day.  
 His words are these. " It was not till very near  
 " the time of my dining with captain Goddard  
 " (the latter end of December or beginning of  
 " January) that I gave over hopes of dissuading  
 " my own family, by which I should have brought  
 " the whole to nothing ; and it was my resolu-  
 " tion to have given lord Clive an account of  
 " that day's conversation immediately, had not  
 " I found, that, instead of adopting the scheme  
 " I proposed, they determined to address the  
 " board." His aid de camp was farther sworn,  
 " that, to the best of his recollection, he ac-  
 " quainted sir Robert Fletcher, between the 18th  
 " and 20th of April, that the officers had receiv-  
 " ed favourable accounts from the other bri-  
 " gades ;" and doubts not that he also acquaint-  
 " ed sir Robert Fletcher, between the 18th and  
 " 20th of April, " that the officers received letters  
 " from the other brigades, and also wrote letters  
 " to them, upon the subject of the resignation."

" Sir Robert Fletcher himself acknowledges,  
 " that the officers determination to resign came  
 " to his knowledge about the 20th of April ;  
 " and that after the 20th it began to be reported  
 " that the officers of the second brigade had en-  
 " gaged in a like association ; but that he does  
 " not recollect any thing certain of them till the  
 " 24th or 25th, when talking with a gentleman,  
 " who had joined with the rest, and pretending  
 " to be acquainted with every thing before, he  
 " learnt from him, that and many other circum-  
 " stances ; particularly, that the first of May was  
 " fixed upon for resigning, and that the officers  
 " had some thoughts of serving as volunteers till

“ the pleasure of the governor and council should  
 “ be known.”

Why did he not immediately communicate all this intelligence to his superiors, to whom it certainly was his duty to communicate every the most minute circumstance that came to his knowledge relating to such a dangerous combination ? He could not but judge it to be particularly requisite that lord Clive and colonel Smith should be made acquainted, as early as possible, with the intention of the officers of the second brigade, whose resignation was likely to be attended with the most fatal consequences, as they were upon actual service, and at the distance of eight hundred miles from the presidency. But he did not divulge the intentions of the brigade under his own command at Monghyr, till the 25th of April (six days only before the day fixed upon for the resignation) when he wrote to lord Clive, mentioning the intended resignation of the officers of the first brigade as a measure which seemed likely to take place, and which had just then only come to his knowledge ; and even that letter was not written till after he had received sir Robert Barker's of the 21st, by which he found the plot was prematurely discovered at Patna, and would of course be immediately communicated by others, if not by him. It is also to be observed, that lord Clive did not receive any letter from sir Robert Fletcher between that of the 25th April, which gave the first intimation of the affair, and that of the 1st of May, which informed his lordship that sir Robert Fletcher had actually accepted the commissions of the officers of the first brigade.

The concealment, however (though that alone by the fourth article of the second section of the articles of war is a capital offence) is the lightest  
 part

part of the charge against sir Robert Fletcher ; the excitement of sedition or mutiny, is the principal point ; and we shall here collect the proofs, impartially, from his own words, and from the facts which stand upon the proceedings of the general court martial.

Captain Goddard has positively sworn, that in a company consisting of sir Robert Fletcher, captains Roper and Parker, lieutenants Watts, Dunbar, Bevan, and Francis, and Mr. Bagot, the surgeon, who dined with him in December 1765, or in January 1766, the reduction of the batta being the subject of conversation, sir Robert Fletcher said, that he thought the memorials which had been presented would have no effect, altho' the orders of the company on that head were not positive ; that he then declared, there was one method to recover it, and that was by a general resignation, which could not fail of success, as the dissension of the civil, joined to that of the military, would carry every thing ; that the discourse then turning upon the method of resigning, sir Robert Fletcher said, " send me your commissions and I will receive them," and advised the scheme should be put into execution before the next ships sailed for England ; as their carrying home accounts of the batta being reduced would strengthen lord Clive's interest so much, that it would be in vain to attempt the recovery of it hereafter ; and intimated at parting, that it might be prejudicial to him to have that conversation repeated : that sir Robert Fletcher afterwards, in private, pointed out to him the readiness of Mr. Bevan's (the brigade major) joining in the resignation : that these arguments of sir Robert Fletcher, added to a suspicion that had been entertained of his wanting to get a majority by the



the resignation of others, induced him to enter into the combination to which he had been before averse : and that sir Robert Fletcher had, publicly at table that day, expressed his surprise that captain Goddard had not joined in the combination, as he thought an officer of his spirit should have been the first to have engaged in it, or words to that effect.

Captain Roper has confirmed the greatest part of captain Goddard's evidence : he has sworn, that sir Robert Fletcher, in that conversation, gave it as his opinion, that the memorials to the board would prove ineffectual ; that, the resignation being mentioned, he said that was the only method ; and that the present dissensions amongst the civilians in Calcutta would greatly favour such a measure, or words to that effect : that he would accept of the commissions ; and that whatever was to be done, ought to be finished before the ships sailed.

Mr. Watts swears, that at the time abovementioned, the conversation turning upon the reduction of the batta, remonstrances and a general resignation were talked of to remove it ; when sir Robert Fletcher gave it as his opinion, that if a general resignation should take place, the batta would be restored ; and proposed, that the commissions should be delivered up at the commencement of a month ; that the officers should receive no pay, but serve as volunteers till the determination of the governor and council should be known ; and that upon those conditions he would accept of the commissions. Mr. Watts farther deposes, that he heard sir Robert Fletcher mention the departure of the Europe ships, and that he heard the word *dissention* mentioned, tho' he does not recollect what was said upon those subjects :

jects : that upon the strength of what captain Goddard has told him, he might have declared that captain Goddard was influenced by sir Robert Fletcher to resign his commission.

Mr. Francis swears, that in the course of that day's conversation, sir Robert Fletcher asked captain Goddard what he was afraid of ? and told him there was a method of getting the batta again : that captain Goddard said he did not know how : that sir Robert Fletcher again said, there was a method, but it was not his place to point it out : that a little time after sir Robert Fletcher proposed that the officers should all resign their commissions, and serve as volunteers till an answer should come from the board ; that he would be bound to get the interest of the four Madras counsellors for the officers ; and added, that as it was well known lord Clive was no friend of his, he hoped that discourse would go no farther.

Such are the proofs that sir Robert Fletcher proposed the scheme of a general resignation, and inspired the officers with hopes that it could not fail of success.

For the sake of candour much time has been employed in summing up the evidences of facts, which we no where find contradicted.—Had they not been here produced in the very expressions of the several witnesses, it might perhaps have been said, that the same facts may be variously stated, and that they were here represented in the most unfavourable manner. No suspicion, therefore, of partiality can hitherto have arisen ; and as we are now to assert that sir Robert Fletcher himself has confessed, in his defence, that he advised the very plan of general resignation which was afterwards carried into execution, and encouraged the  
the

the officers to adopt it, we shall beg leave to repeat his own words, which are so clear and strong, that the proof might have rested upon them alone, without the deposition of a single witness. " After dinner, says he, captain Goddard " suddenly addressed himself to me, in the following words, or words to the same purpose ; " What would you do if we were to leave you " alone with the brigade ? I answered, that I did " not think that would be a good scheme ; that " however, there was a method for the recovery " of the batta, but it was not my business to " point it out. Enquiry then being made of me what " that method was, I advised that they should " send in their commissions to me at the beginning of a month, and serve as volunteers, without pay, till the determination of the governor should be known. Captain Parker here interrupted me, by calling out to captain Goddard, that " he smelt a majority : " Upon which he " seemed much offended, and replied ; That his " not being consulted, as oldest officer in the " brigade, was rather slighting him. I then told " captain Goddard, that I thought there was nothing to fear ; and that the officers would probably carry their point, if they acted prudently, and finished their business before the sailing of the Europe ships. I afterwards mentioned " some other reasons (but what I do not recollect) " why it appeared likely that the batta might be " restored, if the officers consented to serve as " volunteers ; and I told them, that upon that condition I would accept of their commissions. " This, to the best of my recollection, is an exact account of the conversation which then passed ; and when the company broke up, I desired " that what I had there said might go no farther ;

“ to which, I think, captain Goddard promised  
 “ upon his honour it should not.”

After this, it is surely unnecessary to add another word in proof of the allegation. It may not be improper, however, to take notice of some circumstances, which sir Robert Fletcher seems to think should extenuate the weight of the charge.

Towards the close of his defence, he asserts, that about the 24th of April he informed lord Clive, “ the officers had, three months before, “ talked of resigning if their batta was not restored,” and that lord Clive at that time entirely approved of his conduct. By the information here spoken of, we can understand no other than the copy of his letter to sir Robert Barker, dated the 24th of April \*, which sir Robert Fletcher enclosed to lord Clive in his letter of the 25th †, and by the approbation must be understood lord Clive’s answer of the 28th ‡.

In the letter to sir Robert Barker, he says, “ it “ is near three months, since the officers talked “ of not serving unless their batta was restored : “ soon after a remonstrance was written to the “ board, and I imagined the answer sent them “ through me had entirely put a stop to any “ farther proceedings.” This is what, in the close of his defence, he would establish as a full information to lord Clive of his conduct.

With regard to the approbation, which he mentions to have received from lord Clive, let us enquire whence that approbation arose, and how it was expressed.

Sir Robert Fletcher, in his letter of the 25th of April, informs lord Clive, that lieutenant Be-

\* See Appendix, No. 8.

† See Appendix, No. 6.

‡ See Appendix, No. 9.

van, who alone was clear of the scrape, had acted by his (sir Robert Fletcher's) advice, and had in consequence stood single against the torrent; that the officers intended to shew some resentment against Mr. Bevan upon this occasion, but that he (sir Robert Fletcher) was using his influence to prevent it; and adds in the postscript, (which he has omitted in his defence) "that in case the officers should not continue to serve, he would appoint the cadets, and the best of the sergeants, to act as ensigns until he heard from lord Clive." This then, we find, is the conduct of sir Robert Fletcher in the month of April, which lord Clive in his answer the 28th was pleased to approve. The words are these, "Your conduct with respect to the combination entering into by the officers of the brigade under your command is highly commendable, and you have my sincere thanks on the occasion." From hence sir Robert Fletcher would insinuate, that lord Clive approved of his January conduct, though it is evident that his lordship was not acquainted with any part of it till the 14th of May.

He farther informs the court, that, on lord Clive's arrival at Monghyr, he resumed the subject of his letter of the 14th of May†; to which lord Clive, having received it only the evening before on the road, had not written an answer; that he then mentioned his having once pretended to enter into some of the intended measures of the officers, in order to gain their confidence; and that lord Clive at that time expressed himself entirely satisfied with his conduct. Since sir Robert Fletcher seems to lay great stress upon this

† See Appendix, No. 45.

circumstance, candour requires that it should be allowed its fullest force, especially as the conversation passed between lord Clive and him in private, and therefore admits of no proof. But how far will this sort of vindication go? Lord Clive, to sir Robert Fletcher, thought proper to express himself satisfied. Can any man, however, imagine that lord Clive was really satisfied? Was not lord Clive, on the morning of his arrival, informed by captains Smith and Pearson, that captain Goddard, and others, accused their lieutenant-colonel of having been the principal instigator of the defection, and that they were desirous of an opportunity to prove the truth of their allegation? After such intelligence, which, at the same time that it threw a new and great light upon sir Robert Fletcher's own confession, did not, however, unravel the whole mystery, is it possible that lord Clive could have been satisfied with sir Robert Fletcher's conduct? No; but the situation of public affairs was to be considered: the times would not then allow of any appearance of dissatisfaction or mistrust, much less would they allow of a more particular or public enquiry: the soldiers of the European regiment were strongly attached to sir Robert Fletcher, and they had already shewn a disposition to mutiny, provided he would have headed them. A very small proportion of officers could yet be spared for the common duties of the garrison; colonel Smith, and sir Robert Barker, it was well known, stood in need of officers, and it was indispensably necessary that as many as the condition of the first brigade would admit of should be pushed forward without delay to their assistance. Besides, exclusive of these considerations, lord Clive was tender of giving too easy credit to assertions, which might possibly

possibly have been dictated by the malice and resentment of men grown desperate by disappointment, and who were perhaps in hopes of vindicating their own behaviour by arraiguing, at the expence of truth, the behaviour of their commanding officer. For these reasons he determined to look upon the allegation merely as a matter of private information ; to pass over, for the present, the inconsistencies that appeared in sir Robert Fletcher's letters ; to wait a more proper season for comparing them with his conduct ; and to leave him in the chearful performance of his duty, in this time of military confusion, when no other officer of his rank could be had to take charge of the brigade, and when only one captain and three subalterns (two of whom had been made from sergeants) could be spared to keep up the bare appearance of a corps. This was the true state of the case, as it then stood ; and that these were then the sentiments of lord Clive, can be vouched by every man who had the honour to enjoy his lordship's confidence.

The proof of the facts, alledged against sir Robert Fletcher, rests upon the depositions we have seen made by the witnesses, and also upon his own words in his defence, which require no farther comment.

It remains only to observe, that sir Robert Fletcher, doubtful of the strength of his reasoning, recurs finally to the arguments made use of by lieutenant Vertue : " Can officers, says he, in the " Company's service, not bound by any contract, legally resign their commissions, without " the consent of the governor and council ; or " are they guilty of mutiny in doing it ?—If they " are not, can a person be guilty of mutiny in " only advising them to do it ?"

The first of these questions has already been answered by the sentence passed upon lieutenant Verue; and the second is sufficiently answered, by the following;

Copy of the sentence passed by the general court martial upon lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher, viz.

“ The president and members, having taken  
“ into mature consideration the whole evidence  
“ for and against the prisoner, lieutenant-colonel  
“ sir Robert Fletcher, together with his defence,  
“ are of opinion, that he is guilty of mutiny,  
“ the crime laid to his charge, by a breach of  
“ the third and fourth articles of the second section of the articles of war; the prisoner having excited sedition, and after coming to the  
“ knowledge of a mutiny, or intended mutiny,  
“ having delayed to give information thereof to  
“ his commanding officer; the court do therefore adjudge him, and he is hereby adjudged,  
“ to be cashiered.”



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## A P P E N D I X.

### No. 1.

Extract from the Company's general letter to Bengal, dated 1st June, 1764, per Lapwing.

**P**AR. 39. We gave you our sentiments so fully upon the exorbitant military expences at your presidency, in our letter of the 9th March, 1763, that we have now only most positively to enforce the orders therein given, for your taking every opportunity to reduce them within the most frugal bounds the general good of the service will admit of. But with respect to the double batta however, we as positively order, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, half of it be struck off; that is to say, all our military are to have single batta only, in the same manner as is allowed at our presidency of Fort St. George; and even this single batta, we most earnestly recommend it to you to reduce, whenever circumstances will admit of it.

### No. 2.

Copy of the bond executed by the officers.—  
Transmitted to lord Clive by sir Robert Fletcher.

Whereas we the underwritten have entered into an agreement to resign our commissions in the honour.

honourable Company's service, and not to resume them unless the batta of the troops is again restored to what it was in July and August 1763. —Be it known unto all men, that we hereby bind and oblige ourselves, severally, not to accept of any commission in the service of the honourable Company whatever, either through fear, compulsion, or choice, unless the aforesaid batta is restored; under the penalty of 500 l. sterling money of England, recoverable in any of his majesty's courts of justice, by the majority, or any five of the subscribers to this bond. If the batta is restored to the above-mentioned standard, then this obligation to be void and of no effect, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue. In witness, &c. signed, sealed, and delivered, where no stamped paper is procurable.

No. 3.

Remonstrance from the officers of the third brigade, addressed to lord Clive, and the council of Fort William.

My lord and gentlemen,

Induced to believe, by your great zeal for the interest of the honourable East India Company, that you will not think unworthy your notice the sufferings of those that serve them, and wish for new opportunities to advance their power, we take the liberty, in few lines as possible, least we might misapply your valuable moments, to speak with truth the miseries that either press, or threaten us every where, in consequence of the orders of the 31st of December for the curtailing of batta.

Without necessities, it is presumed, it will not be said we can subsist in Indostan; and all com-

modities thence, notwithstanding, as we are told, your kind endeavours to the contrary, still bring the usual prices at the presidency; and here, as formerly, fifty, sixty, and upwards, to two hundred per cent. more than at Fort William.

The wages of servants too remain unalterable. Nor is this all; but every black fellow has his peculiar province, beyond which he cannot be brought to serve. Indeed, to an officer nothing is new, except multiplied distress.

If we fail here, my lord and gentlemen, to make sufficiently apparent, how inadequate to the support of an officer is his present allowance, we will be ready, at any time, to lay before you an estimate of expences, which, we may venture to promise us, you will think essentially requisite to the support of nature, and the station he is honoured with; but 'twere becoming tedious, contrary to our promise, if we detained you here with the fatigues of an officer in hot and rainy weather; the necessity of his having an horse or palenquin, and the present impossibility of his procuring either; therefore, waving this, we only beg leave, before we close, just to mention Madraſs and Bombay, and the cheapness of every thing at those settlements; amazing indeed, if compared with the prices of this; a truth well known to all, the honourable gentlemen we serve excepted; who, as from best authority we have it, think inversely of this matter, believing that cheapness of necessaries is chiefly to be met with in Bengal. However, my lord and gentlemen, we cannot but believe you will undeceive them; and, secure of their concurrence, from arguments unanswerable, will cancel the orders before mentioned of the 31st of December, which are already most severely felt; and,

and, if not countermanded, must quickly bring  
poverty and wretchedness on those that are, with  
the greatest sincerity,

My lord and gentlemen,

Your most obedient, &c.

#### CAPTAINS.

Ja <sup>s</sup> Morgan.	John Coker.
J. Duffield.	Patrick Duff.
James Thomas.	John G. Robinson.
W <sup>m</sup> Nugent.	John Mair.
Tho <sup>s</sup> Roper.	

#### LIEUTENANTS.

Rob <sup>t</sup> Davidson.	John Grant,
George Thomas.	Thom. M <sup>c</sup> Donald.
Henry Williams.	John Dickson.
Cha <sup>s</sup> Scott.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Dundas.
Rob <sup>t</sup> Shand.	John Forbes.
W <sup>m</sup> Macon.	W <sup>m</sup> Farmer.

#### ENSIGNS.

W <sup>m</sup> Denman.	Alex. Skirwin.
Edw <sup>d</sup> Reid.	Rob <sup>t</sup> Stewart.
J. Scott.	N. Davis.
Ja <sup>s</sup> Home.	Cha <sup>s</sup> Collins.
J. Brown.	Cha <sup>s</sup> Ware.
Ralph Middleton.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Baillie.
Fran. Robertson.	Francis Field.
John Armstrong.	G. Goodyar.
George Rooke.	Tho <sup>s</sup> Penning.
Henry Townley.	P. Angerstein.

## No. 4.

Extract of a letter from Lord Clive to Harry Verelst, esq. dated Bikanpore. 22d April, 1766.

“ Last night I received your favour of the 19th  
 “ instant, enclosing a very curious composition,  
 “ entitled a remonstrance, which, by the names  
 “ subscribed, must have come from the officers  
 “ of sir Robert Barker’s brigade. Since you have  
 “ been so obliging as to defer taking notice of it,  
 “ till you hear from me, I shall take the liberty  
 “ of suggesting to you the manner in which I think  
 “ it ought to be treated by the board. Upon a  
 “ supposition that the remonstrance was not sent  
 “ through the commanding officer, which would  
 “ have been the proper channel, nor accompani-  
 “ ed with a letter to the governor and council,  
 “ Mr. Aldersey, as secretary, should be ordered  
 “ to return it, or a copy of it, to sir Robert Barker,  
 “ informing him of its having been sent without  
 “ date, and without any apparent concurrence of  
 “ the commanding officer; but that as it evident-  
 “ ly came from his brigade, it is transmitted to  
 “ him for his information, the board not intend-  
 “ ing to take other cognizance of a paper so irreg-  
 “ ularly brought before them.

“ If, on the other hand, it should have been  
 “ sent through the proper channel, I agree with  
 “ you in opinion, that a similar answer to that late-  
 “ ly given to the remonstrance from the first bri-  
 “ gade, would be as good as any which can be  
 “ devised. But I would propose, by way of addi-  
 “ tion, that the board should observe with asto-  
 “ nishment, that the remonstrance is subscribed  
 “ by several subalterns of the seapoy battalions,  
 “ who have each (the lieutenants I mean) an ex-  
 “ tra allowance of two rupees *per diem*, which, to-  
 “ gether

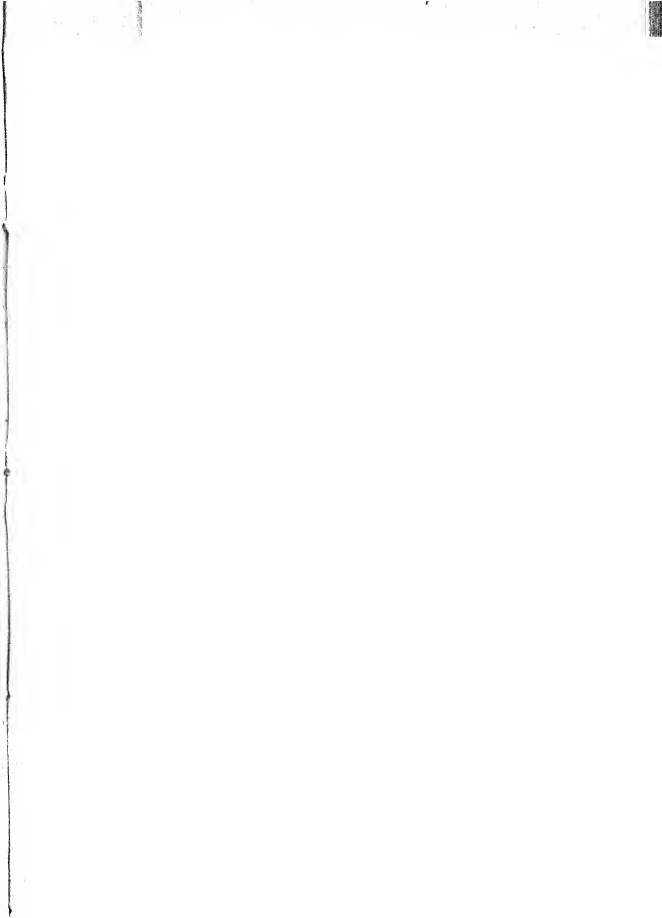


TABLE shewing the pay, batta, and additional allowances to the different ranks of military officers, serving on the Bengal establishment, in rupees and in pounds sterling.

Rank.		Pay per month in Sonaat rupees, which are 11 per cent. better than current.	Field batta per month in Sonaat rupees.	Additional allow- ance per month in Arcot rupees, 8 per cent. better than current.	Total per month in Sterling at 2s 3d. per current rupee.	Total per annum in Sterling.
		£. s. d. pte.			£. s. d. pte.	£. s. d. pte.
Infantry	Colonel	310	775	1240	286 3 3.14	3433 19 1.68
	Lieut. colonel	248	620		108 7 9.937	1,300 13 11.244
	Major	186	465		81 5 10.453	975 10 5.436
	Captain	124	186		38 4 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Capt. lieutenant	62	186		30 19 4.558	371 12 6.996
	Lieutenant	62	124		23 4 6.41	278 14 4.92
	Ensign	50	93		17 17 1.687	214 5 8.244
	Cadet	62	62		7 14 10.113	92 18 1.356
	Captain	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Lieutenant	62	124	62	30 15 2.31	369 2 3.34
Sappers officers	Ensign	50	93	50	23 18 7.687	287 3 8.244
	Captain	148	186		41 14 1.068	500 9 11.616
	Capt. lieutenant	90	186		34 9 3.703	413 11 8.436
	First lieutenant	70	124		24 4 6.175	290 14 2.1
	Second lieutenant	70	124		24 4 6.175	290 14 2.1
	Lieut. fireworker	60	93		19 2 1.394	229 5 4.728
	Captain	185 6 3	186		46 6 7.324	555 19 3.888
	Capt. lieutenant	146 6 3	186		41 10 1.734	498 1 3.808
	First lieutenant	112 10 6	124		29 11 0.562	354 12 6.744
	Second lieutenant	99 13 7	124		27 19 0.726	314 4 8.712
Cavalry	Cornet	99 13 7	93		24 3 0.667	289 16 8.004
	Quarter-master general	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Judge advocate general	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Chaplain	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Aid de camp	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Secretary	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Field engineer	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Brigade major	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Surgeon	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Surgeon assistant	62	124		23 4 6.41	278 14 4.92
Staff Staff composed entirely from civilians.	Adjutant	62	124		23 4 6.41	278 14 4.92
	Quarter-master	62	124		23 4 6.41	278 14 4.92
	Commissary and conductor	50	93		17 17 1.687	214 5 8.244
	Interpreter	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Paymaster	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Deputy paymaster	62	124		21 4 6.41	278 14 4.92
	Commissary of musters	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Deputy ditto	62	124		23 4 6.41	278 14 4.92
	Commissary of boats	124	186		38 14 2.671	464 10 8.052
	Deputy ditto	62	124		23 4 6.41	278 14 4.92
Staff in Staff composed entirely from civilians.	Town major	124			15 9 8.263	185 16 3.156
	Barrack master	124			15 9 8.263	185 16 3.156
	Town adjutant	62			7 14 10.113	92 18 1.356

N. B. The batta of officers in cantonments is only half of that enjoyed in the field; the batta, after crossing the Caramassia, is double the field batta.

In the colonel's absence, the next field officer commanding the regiment receives the additional batta of the rank above him, with forty rupees per diem for his table.

Every staff officer, exclusive of the pay of the rank he holds in the army, receives the pay and batta of the rank he holds on the staff.

“ gether with their pay and batta, might afford  
 “ them a very comfortable subsistence; and that,  
 “ if they would compare their own situation and  
 “ circumstances with those of many hundreds of  
 “ gallant men who have served their king and  
 “ country, in climates as bad as this, and who  
 “ are now starving upon forty pounds a year,  
 “ they would find little reason to descant upon the  
 “ hardships of their lot.”

No. 5. [*See the annexed table.*]

No. 6.

Copy of sir Robert Fletcher's letter to lord Clive;  
 dated Monghyr, 25th April, 1766.

I have had the honour to receive your lordship's letter of the 21st instant. In my address of yesterday to general Carnac, I advised him of captain Du Carel's being now out of danger.

The scheme your lordship mentions, I have heard of, for the benefit of invalided officers and soldiers, and it is truly noble and laudable.

The officers seem now resolved on another attempt for the recovery of their batta. Their commissions, as I understand, are to be sent me at the end of this month, together with a letter informing me that they will draw no pay for the next, but will continue to serve until the affair is finally determined for or against them. Mr. Bevan, who is strongly connected with me in friendship, is the only one of the brigade who is clear of this scrape. As he does nothing without my particular advice, so he consulted me on this occasion; and it was agreed that he should stand singly against the torrent, and plead his obligations to your lordship, as a sufficient reason for dissenting from a measure that would carry the



appearance of opposition. This, however, does by no means satisfy them. Several attacks have been made on him since, but to no purpose; he does and will continue firm, without discovering the least marks of irresolution, although threatened, as they tell him, with ruin. A combination is now on foot not to speak to him, and I am using my influence with three or four of the best not to join in it. From a letter I have received from colonel Barker, which I herewith transmit to your lordship, together with my answer, I judge the other brigades are ripe for the same purpose. Whatever reason the indigent majority may or may not have for carrying this matter so far, I hardly see any colour of a plea for those who bear double posts.

I am, with great respect,

My lord, &c.

Monghyr,  
25th April, 1766.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Fletcher.

P. S. Captain Du Carel, I believe, knows nothing of this combination of the officers. In case they should not continue to serve after their commissions are given in, I will appoint the cadets and the best of the sergeants to act as ensigns, until I hear from your lordship; nor have I the least apprehensions of any mutiny among the troops.

No. 7.

Copy of sir Robert Barker's letter to sir Robert Fletcher, dated Cantonments, Bankipore, the 21st April, 1766.

My dear sir Robert,

Returned am I to quarters, and to the mortification of seeing one half of the cantonments burnt

burnt down, by a very unlucky quarrel between two officers. This is not all, for I find that since I have been away, strange meetings and strange measures have been taken by the gentlemen of my brigade; and I have a good deal of reason to think it is not confined to this brigade alone, about the reduction of batta. Be so good to let me know if you have made any discoveries of this kind, for it behoves us, I believe, to be vigilant in the affair, and that soon.

I am,

Cantonments at Bankipore,  
the 21st April, 1766.

Dear Fletcher, &c.

Robt Barker.

No. 8.

Copy of fir Robert Fletcher's letter to fir Robert Barker, in answer to the foregoing, dated Monghyr, 24th April, 1766.

Dear fir Robert.

I have been favoured by your letter of the 21st instant. The affair of your bungulos is certainly very unlucky, and I hope that those who occasioned it will be brought to a proper sense of the impropriety of their conduct. With regard to the other matter, it is near three months since the officers talked of not serving unless their batta was restored; soon after a remonstrance was written to the board, and I imagined the answer sent them, through me, had entirely put a stop to any farther proceedings; and I am still of opinion, considering the circumstances and connections of most of the officers in the service, that nothing of any consequence can happen. I have heard some

days ago, that they have thoughts of resuming this demand ; but I hardly think it a matter of serious notice, and instead of being alarmed, I judge it the best method to appear very indifferent. At worst they can but quit the service ; and as I am of opinion, that it is now too late for his lordship to alter his resolution, he may turn the evil to good, by picking and chusing the best on his own terms, and turning the worst to the right about.

Monghyr,  
24th April, 1766.

I am, dear sir Robert, yours, &c.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. Fletcher.

### No. 9.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Fletcher,  
dated Mootejyl, 28th April, 1766.

Sir,

I have this moment received your favours of the 25th instant, enclosing sir Robert Barker's letter to you and your answer. Your conduct, with respect to the combination entering into by the officers of the brigade under your command, is highly commendable, and you have my sincere thanks upon the occasion. Notwithstanding their seeming resolution, I cannot think they will actually go through with it ; and indeed I hope, for their own sakes, they will not ; for I am determined, that any man who resigns his commission, from no other cause of disgust than what you mention, shall be immediately dismissed the service and never restored.

Mootejyl,  
28th April, 1766.

I am, sir, your's, &c.

Clive.

No. 10.

. No. 10.

Copy of an anonymous letter addressed to captain Carnac, dated Corah, the 15th of April, 1766.

Sir,

In consequence of the orders of the 31st of December, the officers of the first, second, and third brigades, came to an agreement of resigning their commissions, which are now lodged, to the amount of one hundred and thirty. We, therefore, request you will send your commission to some friend of the first brigade, and therewith some such directions as you may think proper, as experience has shewn there is no dependance on verbal declarations. All the absentees have been wrote to on this occasion; and we trust, whatever step you take, you will not make this known. A subscription has been opened here for supporting those who may want it, in case the council may think proper to accept of all our commissions, or to indemnify those who may be pointed out as principals and suffer, should the batta even be restored. We likewise desire to know your resolution regarding it. Let us have your answer as soon as possible. Direct to any of us of the regiment at Allahabad.

I am, &c.

Corah, 15th of April, 1766.

Full Batta.

The enclosed subscription has been signed by the above one hundred and thirty officers; if you consent to the above, sign the enclosed, and forward it, with your answer.

We

We the undernamed officers of the second brigade do hereby bind ourselves by our honour, to pay a sum of money, in proportion to our rank we hold in the Company's service, in order to defray the expence of going to England, and purchasing an equal commission in his majesty's service, for any officer or officers, who may be singled out to suffer in the cause in which we are now engaged.

# No. II.

Copy of a committee letter to the gentlemen of the council at Fort William, dated Mootejyl, 29th April, 1766.

Gentlemen,

Having this moment received undoubted advice, that an association among the officers of the first, second, and third brigades is formed, in order to distress the government at this critical juncture, by resigning their commissions, unless their full batta should be restored, we must request you will write by express to the presidency at Fort St. George, to desire they will issue orders to all the captains and subalterns they can possibly spare from immediate service, and also such cadets and other gentlemen as they may think qualified to bear commissions, to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Bengal on the shortest notice. Such a spirit must at all hazards be suppressed in the birth, unless we determine upon seeing the authority of the president and council insulted, and the government of these provinces pass from the civil into the hands of the military department.

You

You will please to observe, in your letter to Fort St. George, that every possible encouragement will be given to those gentlemen who embrace this opportunity of distinguishing their zeal for the public service, not only by allowing them such rank as they may claim from the date of their commissions, but every other indulgence consistent with the duty we owe to the company.

One hundred and thirty officers, we are informed, have already subscribed to the association, in which they have engaged to main and support such of the sufferers as may not yet have acquired independence, and are in more immediate danger of incurring our resentment; of this, and also of the approach of the Morattoes, we think it necessary you should acquaint the presidency at Fort St. George, that the nature of the present emergency may appear the stronger. We think it necessary also, you should come to an absolute resolution, that no officer now resigning his commission, shall ever hereafter hold any place or station whatever in this service.

We are with respect, gentlemen, yours, &c.

Mootejyl,  
29th April, 1766.

Clive.  
John Carnac.  
F. Sykes.

#### No. 12.

Copy of a letter from the council at Fort William, to the president and council of Fort St. George, dated at Fort William the 1st of May, 1766.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

We have this instant received advice from lord Clive, general Carnac, and Mr. Sykes, at Moot-  
ejyl,

ejyl, of their having undoubted intelligence of an association among the officers, to distress the government, by resigning their commissions, unless their double batta be restored; to which one hundred and thirty have not only already subscribed, but engaged among themselves to maintain and support such as may not yet have acquired an independency, and are therefore more in danger of suffering by the effects of our resentment.

As giving way to such a mutinous spirit might have the most dangerous tendency, we are determined to suppress it in its birth, at all hazards, We therefore most earnestly request you will order to be held in readiness for embarking. on a moment's warning, all the captains and subalterns you can possibly spare from immediate service, as also all such cadets and other gentlemen as you may think qualified to bear commissions; and we would recommend to you to lose no opportunity of securing means of conveying them hither, until you hear farther from us.

Every possible encouragement shall be ensured to those who embrace this opportunity of distinguishing their zeal for the public service, and they shall be immediately allowed rank according to the dates of their commissions on your establishment, so far as it does not prejudice such of the same rank here, who may not join in the association.

We cannot, gentlemen, too strongly urge the necessity of your compliance with this request, as we are yet uncertain of the intentions of a very considerable body of Morattoes approaching towards these provinces, who are already advanced  
near

near our brigade with the king, at the extremity of Sujah Dowia's dominions.

We are, honourable sir and sirs, yours, &c.

Fort William,  
1st May, 1766.

Harry Verelst.  
Randolph Marriott.  
Claud Ruffell.  
Wm. Aldersey.  
Thomas Kelsal.  
Charles Floyer.

No. 13.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to colonel Smith, dated at Mootejyl, the 29th April, 1766.

Sir,

I have this day received authentic intelligence that no less than one hundred and thirty officers of the three brigades have made a deposit of their commissions, and entered into an association not to serve unless the double batta be restored. To this, it seems, is added an agreement to subscribe for the maintenance of the principals (who they imagine will be the only sufferers) till their arrival in Europe, and to purchase for them commissions of equal rank in his majesty's service. Can any man in his senses suppose, that the secretary at war being made acquainted with the names and conduct of these officers, will ever give his consent to their admission into the king's regiments? With regard to those who have already served in Europe, and are now upon the half-pay list, they would do well to recollect, that they will not be entitled to their half-pay on their return to England, without producing a certificate of their good behaviour in the service of the Company; for such is his majesty's declared resolution;



solution; and if they cannot obtain half-pay, how can they expect to be admitted upon full-pay?

The inclosed copy of a letter, we have just dispatched to the gentlemen of council at Fort William will inform you of the measure that must take place, if this unmilitary association be not immediately dissolved; and I will add, for my own part, that any officer who resigns his commission from no other cause of disgust than the company's orders for the reduction of batta, shall absolutely be dismissed the service, and never be restored. For their sakes, however, I hope they will speedily resolve upon a change of conduct; and I doubt not but you will exert your utmost influence to bring the gentlemen of your brigade to a just sense of their duty. If my sentiments can have weight, you are at liberty to make them as public as you please, as also the copy of our letter to the council. You will likewise communicate to the officers under your command, the inclosed copy of the eighty-second paragraph of the company's letter to this presidency, which will make them acquainted with the sentiments that must be entertained at home of their unfoldierlike behaviour.

My business at the city is now nearly concluded, so that I shall be able, in a very few days, to proceed on my journey.

Mootejyl,  
29th April 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

A like letter of the same date was sent to sir Robert Barker and to sir Robert Fletcher.

Extract

Extract of a letter from lord Clive to sir Robert Barker, dated at Mootejyl, the 29th April, 1766.

I have received your letter of the 19th instant, enclosing the proceedings of a general court-martial on Labott, and a copy of colonel Smith's application to you for two battalions of seapoys and three field pieces. I do not disapprove of your having sent the detachment required; but am much surprised that the first account of such a measure being in agitation should have come from you.

Those officers who were the occasion of the fire at Bankipore will, I hope, meet with the punishment they deserve.

During your absence upon the Bettea expedition, the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns of your brigade have preferred a very extraordinary remonstrance to the governor and council, upon the subject of batta. This proceeding was, I think, somewhat contemptuous towards you; and as the remonstrance was not transmitted through the channel of the commanding officer, I have given it as my opinion, that the board should pay no other attention to it, than that of sending it to you for your information. By the behaviour of our present corps of officers, one would actually conclude that every true idea of military discipline was effaced.

No. 14.

Copy of sir Robert Barker's letter to lord Clive, dated at Bankipore, the 27th April, 1766.

My Lord,

I am favoured with your lordship's letter of the 21st instant. I shall take particular care and at-

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tention

tention in the reception of Sujah Dowla, should we see him here before your lordship arrives; but I am apprehensive the appearance of the Morattoes near the frontiers of his dominions may detain him for some time.

I wrote to your lordship on the 19th, just after my arrival at Bankipore, in which I mentioned my being greatly concerned at a fire which burnt down some of the officers bungalows; but how much more so am I in discovering, that, during my absence from the brigade, such meetings and such measures have been taken by the officers as will surprise you, and this not confined to my brigade alone, but carried on by the other two brigades also; at least, I am assured the first is in the scheme.

On your lordship's answer concerning the reduction of the batta, they have agreed to resign their commissions, and have actually deposited them in the hands of one officer for that purpose: they have also carried on a kind of subscription, which I am informed is to pay for the passage home of those who have it not in their own power. All this has been carried on with such secrecy, that even colonel Chapman, on the spot, knew nothing of it; and you may guess, my lord, my amazement at the discovery, yesterday, which the proceedings of the court martial, and declaration of one of the prisoners, afforded me: I am doing my utmost on the occasion. The proceedings of the general court martial, enclosed, I shall not take upon me to approve. The prisoners I shall send down to Calcutta: the active persons I shall send down also, because trying them here by their comrades would only be trifling, and I have too much reason to suppose the  
officers

officers of the other brigades are of the same way of thinking.

This is not all; for I have hints given me, that the subscription is carried on also by some of the civilians in Calcutta to a large amount; how true this is I cannot learn.

You may rest assured, my lord, every measure shall be taken on my side to suppress this affair.

I am, &c.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Barker.

Bankipore,  
27th April 1766.

No. 15.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Barker, in answer to the foregoing, dated at Mootejyl, the 2d May, 1766.

Dear sir,

I have this moment received yours of the 27th April, enclosing the proceedings of a general court martial upon captain Duff and ensign Davis. Your resolution to send the prisoners down to Calcutta has my entire approbation. I approve likewise of your sending to Calcutta those officers who you may find have been active in the association against continuing in the service without the old allowance of batta: but I request you will be particularly studious in remarking whether the behaviour of any of them can fall under the construction of mutiny; and if you think it may, I desire you will keep such officers in arrest at Bankipore, till we can summon a court martial of field officers; for I am of opinion with you, that to try them by their comrades would be very ineffectual. Find out, if possible, the person in whose hands the commissions are deposited.

sited. The ringleaders of this affair must suffer the severest punishment that martial law can inflict, or else there is an end of discipline in the army, and of authority in the East India company over all their servants.

I have appointed captain Ironsides and captain Polier to be majors, and you will be pleased to give them out in orders accordingly.

Mootejyl,  
2d May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

P. S. I enclose a copy of the remonstrance sent to the governor and council from the officers of your brigade.

No. 16.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to colonel Smith,  
dated at Mootejyl, 2d May, 1766.

S I R,

A letter from sir Robert Barker has just informed me that he has discovered the association, entered into by the officers of his brigade, not to serve without the old allowance of batta, and that many commissions are already actually deposited. I have directed him to send the most active among them down prisoners to Calcutta, and to keep such of them, whose behaviour he may think will fall under the construction of mutiny, in arrest at Bankipore, till we can summon a general court martial of field officers; for I am convinced no other mode of trial will be effectual. These orders, which I have issued to sir Robert Barker, are equally proper for you, and I desire you will follow them at Allahabad. If you can discover

discover the person in whose hands the commissions of your brigade have been deposited, you will immediately put him in arrest, and give me the earliest information. I leave this place on Thursday next.

Mootejyl,  
2d May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

P. S. An anonymous letter, signed First Brigade, says, none but pimps to power will refuse to resign their commissions; and that it is determined, whoever refuses to resign his commission shall be made over to Coventry to all eternity; and that their commissions would be given up the first of May.—I wish I could discover the authors of those anonymous letters, my utmost endeavours should be used to get them shot.

A like letter was dispatched at the same time to sir Robert Fletcher.

No. 17.

Copy of a letter from sir Robert Barker to lord Clive, dated at Bankipore, the 29th April, 1766.

My lord,

It is now beyond a suspicion that the officers of the three brigades have laid schemes, and are combined together in giving up their commissions: this was to have been performed when your lordship came here; but the measures I have taken has facilitated their intentions; they are now to offer their commissions, I am informed to the

commanding officers of the brigades, who, I hope, will behave properly on the occasion.

I have, in order to shake this combination, and to be better able to manage the remainder, as well as to try if they will refuse orders, ordered a part of the regiment to march; indeed, as the Morattoes appear undetermined what they will do, it might not be improbable, that while they are diverting colonel Smith, they may detach a party to plunder Banarass; and therefore this detachment will either guard against an incursion of that kind, or be ready to reinforce colonel Smith, should there be occasion. I am under no apprehensions for my brigade; but I tremble for the consequences at Monghyr, as I am informed a day is nominated for the three brigades.

Bankipore,  
29th April, 1766.

I am &c.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Barker.

No. 18.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Fletcher,  
dated at Mootejyl, 4th of May, 1766.

Sir,

I cannot help being anxious to hear from you, as by the intelligence I receive from other quarters, it appears that the association is more headstrong in your brigade, than in either of the other two. Permit me to repeat my request, that you will inform yourself, as far as possible, of the names of the principals, and every other particular relating to the combination. I wish to know what progress it has made at Monghyr since your last. It will be highly necessary for you to discover the full intention of the officers. If you find

find that they mean more than merely resigning their commissions; or if you find that the soldiers, European or seapoys, are the least disposed to be mutinous, I desire you will, without delay, take such steps as may most effectually secure to us the fidelity and attachment of the subahdars, or commanding officers of the black troops.

Whatever may be the issue of this affair, I am determined that those who have been most active shall be dismissed the service.

I shall set out from hence on Tuesday next, and make to Monghyr with all possible expedition.

I am, &c.

Mootejyl,  
4th May, 1766.

Clive.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received yours of the 1st, with the letter to you from the officers.

No. 19.

Copy of sir Robert Fletcher's letter to lord Clive,  
dated at Monghyr, 1st of May, 1766.

My lord,

I herewith transmit to your lordship a letter which I received from the officers of this brigade, with my answer, and a letter which I received from sir Robert Barker this morning. I do not think there is the smallest chance of any disturbance happening among the troops in consequence of this combination.

I am, &c.

Monghyr,  
1st May, 1766.

Robt Fletcher.

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No. 18.



No. 20.

Copy of a letter from the officers of the first brigade to lieutenant-colonel sir Robert Fletcher, dated at Monghyr, 1st May, 1766.

Sir,

That we might put it out of the power of either the world or our own consciences to reproach us for desiring leave to resign our commissions in the company's service, we have served four months, in obedience to the orders of the 31st of December 1765, and we are now but too well convinced that our former suspicions were true : for, notwithstanding the proposed reduction of servants wages, and dismissing every unnecessary attendant, we find we cannot live upon the present allowances, but must every month run in debt, as long as we have any credit. We must appear upon the parade as becomes officers, and keep up our respective ranks, or disobey public orders : we must eat and drink as befits the climate, or fall sacrifices to hunger and sickness : and to do all these only in moderation, we must run in debt to every person who will give us any credit, be they men of honour, or the lowest in the creation ; and so fall under the lash of another article of war, for behaving unlike gentlemen.

You know we have applied for redress in the humblest manner, and that it has been refused us : it is needless for us here to call upon you to witness for our attachment to our masters ; our behaviour through a series of severe campaigns must bear down all slander. Some of us have eat the company's bread for some years, and are deeply concerned we can no more do it with honour. All of us are sorry to be obliged to take this method

thod of preventing ruin and misery from falling upon ourselves and connections ; and sincerely wish, that our masters may ever meet with a set of officers as much attached and devoted to their service as we have always wished to approve ourselves, and who may maintain the affairs of the company, to the latest posterity, in that splendor to which we have happily raised them. But unless the pay and batta of their troops is again restored, to what it was in July and August 1763, our prayers are all that we can now give them.

As it is from principle we now resign the service, it would give us the greatest uneasiness, should the affairs of our honourable masters suffer by so sudden a resignation. We have therefore resolved to serve them without pay of any kind, or being esteemed officers in their service, until the 15th of this present month of May, when an answer may be had from those gentlemen of the council, who we know have the power of granting us redress, or supplying our places with other officers, provided you desire it.

Our commissions accompany this, and we request you will keep them till the answer arrives ; and that you will at the same time direct the paymasters to issue the pay of the non-commissioned officers and private men upon unsigned abstracts, to prevent any suspicion or disturbance arising, which would give us the greatest uneasiness ; for we seek to live by our services, never to hurt our masters.

We are, with due respect, sir, your, &c.

Monghyr, 1st May, 1766.

Benj. Wilding.  
John Mattocks,  
William Paton.

Edward Rawstone.  
G. G<sup>o</sup>. Hoggan.  
James Brown.  
Charles

Charles Bowles.	C. H. Sarney.
John Fergusen.	W <sup>m</sup> . Bullingbrooke.
Charles Marfacks.	John O Byrn.
John Ant. Vaziel.	John Wood.
James Dunbar.	John Downes.
Francis Onge.	Al. Macpherfon.
Jos. Bruce.	G. Stranford.
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Borthwick.	W <sup>m</sup> . Elliot.
John M <sup>c</sup> Pherfon.	W. Heylon.
C. Ironside.	Tho <sup>s</sup> . James.
Jas. Broadbent.	W <sup>m</sup> . Henry Rice.
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Goddard.	Ch. J. J. Fielding.
Arthur Achmuty.	Roger Scarling.
John Stainforth.	S. Skinner.
James Watts.	P. Knudson.
Horton Briscoe.	John Petrie.
John Shrimpton.	Arch <sup>d</sup> . Stewart.
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Briton.	Rob <sup>t</sup> . Kyd.

P. S. The guards shall be relieved this morning, and every thing as usual, to prevent all suspicion.

#### No. 21.

Copy of fir Robert Fletcher's letter to the officers of the first brigade, in answer to the above, dated at Monghyr, 1st May, 1766.

Gentlemen,

I have received your letter of this date, together with your commissions; and shall, agreeable to your request, take the most expeditious method of obtaining you an answer from our superiors. I agree with you in thinking it better that the soldiers remain ignorant of the measure you have taken; and I desire you to continue to do duty as officers, according to your former respective

tive ranks, until we know the pleasure of the governor and council. I am, &c.

Monghyr,  
1st May, 1766.

Robt Fletcher.

No. 22.

Copy of sir Robert Barker's letter to sir Robert Fletcher, dated at Bankipore, the 29th April, 1766.

Dear sir Robert,

It is now beyond a doubt, that the officers of the three brigades have entered into an agreement of giving up their commissions on the same day ; and I believe the measures I have taken, of sending some of the principals down to Calcutta, has hastened that day, I am afraid, before you can receive this ; for God's sake take care of your men ; the officers having quitted them, there is no knowing what might be the consequence. I assure you it requires your utmost skill and judgment. I have marched a party of my regiment, by way of shaking the combination : if you was to do the same, I think it would not be amiss.

Yours, &c.

Bankipore,  
29th April, 1766.

Robt Barker.

No. 23.

Copy of a Committee letter to the council at Fort William, dated at Mootejyl, the 4th of May, 1766.

Gentlemen,

The enclosed letter to colonel sir Robert Fletcher will convince you, that the advices we lately transmitted to your board were well founded, and that  
we

we must now act with the utmost vigour and unanimity in support of the civil government. You will perceive that the officers of the first brigade have actually resigned, and we soon expect to hear that the other brigades have acted in the same manner, conformably to the terms of the association.

We would therefore recommend, that you instantly dispatch an express to Fort St. George, requesting, in the most urgent manner, that all the officers and cadets they can possibly spare from that establishment may immediately embark for Bengal; and this dispatch you will please to accompany with a duplicate of your last.

At the same time, we request you will send to such gentlemen among the free merchants as you imagine are the most likely, from their age, to accept the military service, during the present emergency, and till we can be supplied with officers; in consideration of which, you will engage not only to recommend them home to stations on the civil establishment, but indulge them with the free privilege of dustucks, upon resignation of their military employments, until their services shall be properly rewarded by the court of directors. We are, gentlemen, yours, &c.

Mootejyl,  
4th May, 1766.

Clive.  
John Carnac.  
Fras. Sykes.

No. 24.

Copy of sir Robert Barker's letter to lord Clive,  
dated at Bankipore, the 30th of April, 1766.

My lord,

Yesterday I received a letter from the officers of my brigade, acquainting me with their intentions

tions of presenting their commissions the first of May ; that they were determined not to receive pay or batta for that month ; but that they would obey orders, and serve until the fifteenth of the month, in which time they supposed your lordship would be up, or they should know your answer.

This morning, I assembled them at my quarters, made them acquainted that they were committing mutiny and desertion, and that I hoped they would reflect on what they were doing ; to all which they answered, that they were solemnly bound and engaged with the other brigades to offer their commissions on the first of May, and that they could not be off.

I wrote your lordship last night, that I was under great uneasiness for the first brigade ; my reason for it was, that I am told the men have expressed themselves that they will go off with their officers.

I shall write your lordship of to-morrow's proceedings ; and am, with great respect,

Your &c.

Bankipore, 30th April, 1766.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. Barker.

P. S. I am told that there is a laack and forty thousand rupees subscribed for the officers by the gentlemen at Calcutta.

No. 25.

Copy of a committee letter to the council at Fort William, dated at Mootejyl, the 5th May, 1766, in which Sir Robert Barker's letter above was enclosed.

Gentlemen,

The right honourable the president received the enclosed this morning from sir Robert Barker ;

ker; whence you will observe that the combination is general, that the disaffected are determined, and that the fidelity of the private soldiers of the first brigade is somewhat dubious. Yet this suspicion of sir Robert Barker is by no means warranted by any advices from sir Robert Fletcher, who ought to be the best judge of the disposition that prevails in his own corps.

The circumstance mentioned in the postscript we long suspected, since there was little reason to believe, that men, who had already proceeded to such lengths in opposition, would hesitate about proceeding farther: we would therefore recommend that you exert the utmost diligence in endeavouring to procure the names of such of the civilians as have been most active in stirring up this mutinous disposition in the army, and have subscribed to the sum to be collected for maintenance of the officers: but we think your enquiries should be conducted with all caution and privacy; and we particularly request you will be attentive in what hands you entrust such letters as you may receive from us upon this subject.

Mean time you may be assured that we shall act with the constancy that prudence and the situation of affairs will authorize.

We are, &c.

Mootejyl,  
5th May 1766.

Clive.  
John Carnac.  
Fra' Sykes.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Fletcher,  
dated at Mootejyl, the 5th May, 1766.

S I R,

Upon the receipt of yours last night, the officers letter was dispatched to the council at Fort William, and we expect their answer before we shall be able to reach Monghyr.

It is impossible for us to be certain that a spirit of mutiny has not been diffused amongst the men, and indeed it would be highly imprudent to assure ourselves of their moderation; I therefore desire you will, with the utmost secrecy, get in readiness a sufficient number of coolies for the removing of baggage, and that you will pursue every thing (so far as it can be done without suspicion) for detaching the troops in small parties at a moment's warning. You will likewise, with the same caution of privacy, endeavour to collect boats for transporting the officers to Calcutta. I am determined they shall depart from Monghyr, upon twenty-four hours notice; and I doubt not but the officers I bring with me will be able to keep the men, when detached, to their duty, until the commissions are all filled up. Sir Robert Barker has expressed some apprehensions that the men of your brigade are not to be depended upon; I should be glad to have again your opinion upon that matter: you cannot however be too doubtful in a point so essential, nor act with too much circumspection, provided you avoid shewing that you suspect their fidelity.

General Carnac thinks, that if his and sir Robert Barker's brigade were, for the present, to be  
formed



formed into one, we should find the men sufficiently officered. But it is a question, whether the only evil to be dreaded would not be encreased by such a measure, as it would bring a larger number together. Be pleased to give us your opinion immediately.

If before our arrival there should be any occasion to put the behaviour of the sergeants and corporals to the test, you have our authority to endeavour to secure them, by assurances of very handsome gratuities.

Mootejyl,  
5th May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

No. 27.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Barker,  
dated at Mootejyl, the 5th May 1766.

Dear sir,

I have received yours of the 30th April. By this time I conclude the officers have actually presented their commissions, and will have heard that those of the first brigade have done the same.

In a late letter, you said you was under no apprehensions of a mutiny among the men: I cannot however propose that we should depend upon them. You must by all means get every thing in readiness to detach them in small parties, without their suspecting the reason for dividing them. I would also have you prepare (privately) a sufficient number of boats for transporting the officers to Calcutta; for we have desired the opinion of the board, and imagine they will advise a general dismissal.

Let

Let me know whether you think it would be proper, for the present, to form your brigade and the first into one: whether the men would in that case be sufficiently officered by those who are not in the association; and whether something might not be to be dreaded from such a junction.

I dare say it must have occurred to you, to have an eye upon the non-commissioned officers. You will use your utmost endeavours to preserve their attachment, by assuring them of handsome gratuities, in case there should be any occasion to put their good behaviour to the trial.

I am &c.

Mootejyl, 5th May 1766.

Clive.

No. 28.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Fletcher,  
dated at Mootejyl, the 6th May, 1766.

S I R,

I have received yours of the 2d instant. If you continue in the conviction that no mutiny of the men is to be apprehended, I desire you will immediately secure, and send down prisoners to Calcutta, some of your captains who have been the most active. Majors Champion and Polier, captains Smith, Pearson, and Martin, are now on the road to Monghyr. They are to follow such orders as they may receive from you. I shall set out this afternoon.

I am, &c.

Mootejyl,  
6th May, 1766.

Clive,

M

No.

No. 29.

Copy of sir Robert Barker's letter to lord Clive,  
dated at Bankipore, the 1st May, 1766.

My lord,

This morning the officers, whose names I enclose to your lordship, sent their commissions to me in a letter; which I returned to them, with an assurance of putting the severity of military law in execution, if any of them misbehaved. They talk of waiting till the fifteenth of this month. Four of these gentlemen I shall send down, the rest I believe will be heartily sorry for what they have done; however I can point out to your lordship the most active.

Monghyr I am the most alarmed at. I wish those gentlemen may not bring on themselves much trouble.

It will be necessary, my lord, to order up, post haste, all such officers as are not in the plot, I therefore send your lordship a list of those of my brigade whose commissions were not tendered.

Bankipore,  
1st May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Barker.

No. 30.

Copy of sir Robert Fletcher's letter to lord Clive,  
dated at Monghyr, the 3d May, 1766.

My lord,

I have this moment been honoured by your lordship's letter of the 29th ultimo, enclosing your address to council, and the extract of the  
Com-

Company's general letter; but as you expressly say, "that whoever resigns his commission on this occasion shall never have it restored," I do not think myself at liberty to return the commissions, even were the officers inclined to accept them. On the contrary, when I had used every argument in my power, particularly with those whom I brought into the service, and with whom I thought I could have done any thing, assuring them that officers would speedily be sent from the other presidencies, that free merchants, and others, would be encouraged to accept the service, representing exactly what your lordship hath said of the king's service, and the loss of their half pay, and that every man of them would certainly be sent to Europe; I say, when I had urged all those reasons for a change of conduct, I was told by them severally, that they were determined, to a man, to abide by what they had done. I am now preparing boats, as I have told them, to transport them to Calcutta; for which purpose I have assured them, that I hourly expect an order from your lordship. Should this be the case, I think I can answer for keeping the brigade in order and discipline until we get a supply of other officers. I request that your lordship will seal and forward the accompanying letter to my brother, written in consequence of a piece of intelligence that I received this morning at breakfast.

I am, &c.

Monghyr,  
3d May, 1766.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Fletcher.

No. 31.

Copy of a committee letter to the council at Fort William, dated at Sydokbaug, the 6th May, 1766.

Gentlemen,

We have just received intelligence, that the discontented officers have written, or intend to write, to the gentlemen of the army on the Coast, representing the impossibility of their subsisting upon this establishment, and advising them to reject any proposals that presidency may make to them for their removal to Bengal. We therefore think it necessary to request you will, for a time, stop the private letters to and from Madras, except such as you may have reason to conclude cannot relate to the subject abovementioned. We likewise beg leave to propose the like measure with respect to Moratbaug, Monghyr, Patna, and Allahabad. A communication of sentiments from one part of the army to another, whilst the present combination subsists, we think extremely dangerous; we have therefore thought proper to detain at Mootejyl all suspected correspondence, and shall continue to do so till we think it will be no longer necessary.

We are, &c.

Sydokbaug,  
6th May, 1766.

Clive.  
John Carnac.  
Fr<sup>s</sup> Sykes.

P. S. Majors Champion and Polier, with captains Pearson, Smith, and Martin, are gone forward. We are following with all expedition, and hope to reach Monghyr by the 13th instant.

No.

No. 32.

Copy of sir Robert Fletcher's letter to lord Clive,  
dated at Monghyr, the 4th May 1766.

My lord,

I have again taken an opportunity of speaking to some of the officers, particularly such as have the most influence, and are, I may say, the tribunes of the rest; but I find that fair arguments, without the restoration of the batta, serve only to inflame them more. The state of their dispositions is such, that a dissolution of this combination, if any can take place, must, I think, be the effect of their fears and apprehensions of what may befall them hereafter, rather than any other consideration whatever; and so great a change of sentiments seems to require time, and cooler reflection than they will at present allow themselves. They flatter and please themselves with a persuasion, that the troops cannot be kept together without them, and that their letters to Madras will infuse the same spirit among the officers there; and to confirm the former opinion, the most artful methods have been used to make me believe that a mutiny is already planned, and must inevitably happen, if the officers are dismissed. This was communicated to me on such sly conditions, that I am not at liberty to say more of the matter. Yesterday, when I mentioned your lordship's determination to send to Madras for officers, I found great reason to believe, that a confirmation thereof would make them quit the troops immediately. Sir Robert Barker writes me, that he has refused the commissions at

Bankipore; but I am apt to think that that will only strengthen their resolutions.

Monghyr,  
4th May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Rob<sup>t</sup> Fletcher.

P. S. The king's officers will not believe they can lose their half pay.—They say the Company have broke their conditions with them, by depriving them of that which induced them to accept the service, which is a sufficient reason for their resignation.

No. 33.

Copy of lord Clive's answer to the above letter,  
dated the 7th May, 1766, at —

S I R,

I received yours of the 4th instant this morning, by which I find there is some foundation for a suspicion, that the soldiers of your brigade may be troublesome. Sir Robert Barker has intimated to me his apprehensions of them, though he seems to entertain no doubts of his own men. In my letter of yesterday, I desired you would send away some of the most active officers, provided you had no reason to think a mutiny would follow. Should you have the least apprehension of such an event, I would have you secure the fidelity of some of the most trusty sergeants, by promising them gratuities to the amount of two or even three thousand rupees each. The subahdars, or commanding officers of the black troops, you will likewise promise largely to, in case of the same emergency. With the assistance of  
majors

majors Champion and Polier, and captains Smith and Pearson, I hope you will be able to keep matters quiet till our arrival. Those gentlemen expect to be with you by the 12th at farthest, and I shall probably arrive on the 13th. I bring with me captains M'Pherson, Hill, Carnac, and Graham, and lieutenant Butler.

I am, &c.

7th May, 1766.

Clive.

No. 34.

Extract of a letter from lord Clive to sir Robert Barker, dated at Furrukah Chowrah, 8th May, 1766.

I have seen your letter to the general, and at the same time received one from captain Watson; but I must confess the nature of his proposal appears to me almost incomprehensible.

Will men so abandoned to all sense of honour (and who still persevere in supporting acts of mutiny and desertion) when they have obtained one point, cease there?—History can furnish but few instances of that nature: for my own part, I must see the soldiers bayonets levelled at my throat, before I can be induced to give way; and then, not so much for the preservation of my own life, as the temporary salvation of the Company:—Temporary only it can be, for I shall think Bengal in the utmost danger, when we are reduced to the necessity of submitting the civil power to the mercy of men who have gone lengths that will astonish all England.

M 4.

With



With me it is beyond a doubt, that if the officers do not resolve to submit, and acknowledge their crime, ruin and destruction must equally be their lot, whether they succeed or not; and if arguments of this kind can make no impression, none will. I cannot help thinking more evil is still intended.

You have frequently informed me that you apprehend nothing from the men; if this point can be gained by any means, or any offers, the sooner the officers depart the better.

Champion, Polier, Pearson, and Smith, are pushing on for Monghyr, and will be there the 12th. Myself, the general, captains Hill, Graham, Martin, M'Pherson, and some others, follow, and hope to reach sir Robert by the 14th. Major Fischer, Ironside, and many others, must be upon their march long before this, in consequence of my orders from Mootejyl.

No. 35.

Copy of sir Robert Fletcher's letter to lord Clive,  
dated at Monghyr, the 6th May, 1766.

My lord,

I have received your lordship's letter, dated the 2d instant; in consequence, I have sent captain Wilding and lieutenant Petrie to Calcutta, upon suspicion of their being among the most active in forming the combination. I cannot learn for certain, that the commissions were deposited in the hands of one particular person; they were left at my quarters on the morning of the 1st instant, by a black fellow; and although some of the officers seem to have great influence with the rest,  
yet

yet I am persuaded every precaution has been taken to conceal the principals.

Monghyr,  
6th May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Robt Fletcher.

No. 36.

Copy of a letter from the council at Fort William to sir Robert Fletcher, dated at Fort William, 6th May, 1766.

S I R,

The address to you, from the officers of the first brigade, which you transmitted in your letter to the president the 1st instant, may produce surprise, but cannot shake that firmness with which we are determined to pursue every measure we think conducive to the interest of our constituents, and necessary to our own honour. That gentlemen, risen to the rank of captains upon the military establishment, and who now enjoy greater advantages, and receive more pay, than field officers in any other service in the world, should subscribe to an unmilitary dishonourable combination, to distress the government by which they are supported, will certainly be no recommendation to his majesty's service, and it will be our care that such conduct be faithfully reported to the Court of Directors, to be laid by them before the secretary at war.

We are even astonished at the complaints of the subalterns, who had certainly not reflected upon the situation of his majesty's subaltern officers, when they subscribed to this letter of resignation: let their pay be compared, and it will appear, they bear no manner of proportion, after  
all

all allowances are made for the difference of climates, and the different nature of the services.

Whatever plea there may be for the conduct of the officers of the battalion, there surely can be no excuse for those who enjoy double posts, or those who are attached to the seapoys.

These remarks we offer, not with a view of persuading them to alter a resolution that may subject the service to some inconvenience; on the contrary, we desire you will accept of all such other commissions as are offered; and we farther direct, that you will order down to Calcutta, within the space of twenty-four hours, all those who have already resigned, since we can place no great confidence in the zeal of men who have deserted their duty, in a manner inconsistent with the character of officers and gentlemen; for whatever they may think of the service, we are convinced that persons of equal merit will be glad to accept it upon the present footing.

Humanity obliges us to be truly sorry, that the rashness of a few should have precipitated into ruin, a number of gentlemen who might, in a short space of time, have acquired fortunes with reputation and honour; and who will now find that they have forfeited a service superior, even in its reduced condition, to any station in life to which they can possibly form pretensions.

Fort William,  
6th May 1766.

We are &c.

No. 37.

Copy of a letter from the council at Fort William to the president and council at Fort St. George, dated at Fort William, 6th May 1766.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The apprehensions we communicated to you the first instant, of the officers having entered into a combination to resign their commissions, unless double batta should be restored, have proved too well founded; lord Clive and the gentlemen at Mootejyl having forwarded to us a letter to sir Robert Fletcher, commanding the first brigade, signed by forty-two of the officers, enclosing their commissions, and declaring their resolution to act without pay or allowance whatever, from the 1st instant until the 15th, when they would quit the army, if their unsoldierly mutinous demands were not complied with. A copy of our letter to sir Robert Fletcher upon this occasion, which comes enclosed, will shew you the steps we are unanimously determined to pursue, notwithstanding we have reason to expect that the officers of the other brigades will follow their example.

On every critical occasion, when the public service required it, we have ever experienced a ready assistance from you gentlemen. The present emergency too loudly calls for our united efforts; and our dependance on your zeal, you may imagine, has greatly influenced, and given strength to our resolute determination on this occasion; we must, therefore, request you will, without loss of time, send to us all the officers, cadets,

cadets, and others, agreeable to our letter of the 1st, a triplicate of which comes enclosed.

We are, &c.

W. B. Sumner.  
Harry Verelst.  
Randolph Marriott.  
Hugh Watts.  
Claud Russell.  
W<sup>m</sup> Alderfey.  
Tho<sup>s</sup> Kelsall.  
Cha<sup>s</sup> Floyer.

Fort William,  
6th May 1766.

No. 38.

Extract from consultations, 7th May 1766.

The board taking into consideration the general combination among the officers, and the probability there appears, from the violent and determined resolution with which they seem to persevere in it, of almost the whole resigning, which might possibly shake the fidelity of the private men, unless some persons, on whom we can depend, be immediately appointed to command them; and there being at present many free merchants, who may be willing to distinguish their zeal for the service on this emergency, it is agreed, that the following proposals be made to them :

To engage to serve for twelve months certain; in the mean time, if we should be provided with officers for the occasions of the service, from England or the other presidencies, they shall be at liberty to resign, but not without the concurrence of the president and council; and it is left  
in

in their own option, whether or not to continue on the military establishment.

And it is proposed, for the encouragement of such gentlemen who may engage in the military service on this occasion, that such as may serve six months shall have the privilege of a dustuck for the space of eighteen months, from the day of their first application for the same; and such as may serve twelve months to have the same privilege for three years. They shall also, if desirous of it, be recommended to the Court of Directors for stations on the establishment.

The president is accordingly desired to communicate the same to the free merchants, and to request of such as may engage, to proceed immediately to lord Clive, who will settle the rank they are to hold on the military establishment.

Extract from consultations, 9th May 1766.

The president informs the board, that in consequence of a resolution of the 7th instant, regarding such free merchants as might be disposed to contribute their assistance on the present disaffection of the officers, Messrs. Dyneley and Drinkell are the only persons who have offered their service, all the others having pleaded sickness, or some other excuse.

No. 39.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Fletcher,  
dated Siccaragully, 10th May, 1766.

S I R,

I am glad to find by yours of the 8th instant, which I received here this morning, that you are  
still

still confident no mutiny will arise amongst the troops.

Enclosed is a letter to you from the governor and council, by which you will see how determined we are to act with firmness upon the present occasion. Blank spaces were left for the signatures of general Carnac, Mr. Sykes, and myself, in order to manifest the unanimous resolution of the whole board. It would be proper, I think, that you should intimate to the officers your having such a letter in your possession; but before you produce it in public, I would have you try what can be done with the subalterns, for I would consent to keep most of them in the service, provided they can be brought to repent of their combination; but as to the captains, I am steady in my determination to dismiss them all.

The roads are so bad, from the great quantity of rain, which fell last night, that our progress to day has been less than intended. We shall, however, be with you as soon as possible.

I am, &c.

Clive.

Siccaragully,  
10th May, 1766.

P. S. You may as well not make the letter from the governor and council public, excepting so far as to answer the abovementioned purpose, before my arrival.

No. 40.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Barker, dated at Siccaragully, 10th May, 1766.

S I R,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter, now forwarded to sir Robert Fletcher, by which you will be made

made acquainted with the unanimous resolution of the whole board. It may not be amiss for you to intimate what is written to the officer commanding the first brigade, and that you expect to receive the like orders. If the subalterns can be brought to a just sense of duty and honour, I would readily consent to restore most of them their commissions; but the captains shall every man be absolutely dismissed the service.

I am, &c.

Siccaragully,  
10th May, 1766.

Clive.

No. 41.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to colonel Smith, dated at Shahabad, 11th May, 1766.

S I R,

The members of the select committee being at present so dispersed that they cannot form a board, and your letter to them of the 29th of April, which met me this morning on the road, requiring an immediate answer, I think proper to write to you myself, as commander in chief of the forces.

It was intimated to you in a late letter, that your return to Allahabad, upon the approach of the Morattoes, might carry too much the appearance of a retreat: for this, and other material reasons mentioned in your last, I entirely approve your having suspended the prior resolution, and encamping for the present at Serrajepore. You have my authority to preserve the post you are now possessed of, till the motions of the Morattoes shall admit of your march to Allahabad. Should they advance to the frontiers, you will  
act



act in the manner you may judge most defensible for the provinces of Corah, and Sujah Dowla's dominions. You will likewise enter into and conclude such treaties, with any of the adjacent powers, as you may think the emergency of affairs in those parts may require. I do not, however, imagine that an incursion will be attempted so late in the season, especially into the nabob's country, which is so well secured by the Ganges.

My letter of the 2d instant apprised you of a combination formed by the officers of the third brigade. I am now to acquaint you, that they have actually transmitted their commissions (to the amount of fifty) in a letter of resignation to the governor and council. As the letter met me upon the road, I perused and forwarded it, reserving the packet of commissions in my own hands, to restore them as occasion might require. The captains, indeed, I am determined shall all be dismissed, but most of the subalterns, excepting those who are double posted and attached to the seapoys, may be restored to the service, if they can be brought to a just sense of duty and honour. The gentlemen of the first brigade have thought proper to conduct themselves in a similar manner, and forty at least of them have sent in their commissions to sir Robert Fletcher, acquainting him that they shall draw no pay for this month, but will serve as volunteers till the 15th instant, when they are resolved to quit, unless the old allowance of double batta be restored to them. The enclosed copy of a letter from the governor and council to sir Robert Fletcher, will fully inform you of our invariable resolution upon this occasion. The same will undoubtedly be persevered in with regard to sir Robert Barker's brigade. I have been thus particular, in order  
that

that you might not be unacquainted with the proceedings below, as they may enable you to foresee the consequences of a like combination amongst the officers of your brigade. It is confidently asserted that every officer under your command, except two, have signed an agreement to resign, from the same motives urged at Patna and Monghyr. But as you are entirely silent upon the subject, and the troops upon actual service, I entertain some hopes that the gentlemen with you have more honour than to join in such a mutinous and unmilitary association. It is necessary, however, that you should be prepared how to act upon so disagreeable an event, if it should happen. Whilst an enemy threatens to approach, I conclude it absolutely impracticable to part with your officers, since their commissions cannot be instantly supplied. In case, therefore, the Morattoes should still appear to intend an invasion, or in case you apprehend a mutiny among the troops, but in no other case, you have my authority to make terms with the officers of your brigade, upon their tendering their commissions. The critical juncture will, I think, render such a submission on your part unavoidable for the present, if they should dare to take such a step, which I should imagine they would not, as they are now in the field, and consequently receive double batta. Besides, it is hardly to be suspected that they would expose themselves to the hazard of a general court martial, by deserting their posts in the very face of the enemy; although their not having entered into a contract to serve for a limited time may, by construction of the mutiny act, which certainly supposes such a contract to subsist, give them hopes of escaping the severity of martial law.

I have written to all absent officers, who have not signed their resignation, to meet me at Monghyr, provided they are not concerned in the combination. I am hastening thither with fourteen or fifteen, who will be staunch in the cause of discipline; and on my arrival I am resolved to dispatch every captain to Calcutta. A captain, a captain-lieutenant, and an ensign, of sir Robert Barker's brigade, and a captain-lieutenant of sir Robert Fletcher's, have been put under arrest as principals, and are now on their voyage to the presidency, where I propose they shall remain prisoners, 'till a council of field officers determine what farther process should be had against them. To give way to so mutinous a spirit, except in your particular situation, were to subvert all military subordination, supersede the civil authority, and finally to relinquish the company's valuable possessions in Bengal.

A very unexpected event came to our knowledge the night before last; this was no other than the death of the nabob. On the 6th instant he paid us a visit at Sydokbaug, and was then much out of order: on the 8th he died of that sort of fever which affects the nose. No disturbances, however, can arise: Syfa Dowla, the next brother, will, I suppose, be put upon the Musnud, as soon as Mr. Sykes receives orders from Calcutta to that purpose, and in the mean time the affairs of the government will be carried on, as usual, by the ministry.

Before I conclude, I must again mention that you are not to make any terms with the discontented officers of your brigade, except the Morattoes should be marching against you, and except you have good reason to conclude that a mutiny  
of

( 179 )

of the men will be the consequence of the desertion of their officers.

Shahabad,  
11th May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

No. 42.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to sir Robert Fletcher,  
dated on the banks of the Tyrmohonny Nulla,  
the 13th May, 1766.

Sir,

The bridge over this Nulla is carried away by the sudden fall of waters from the mountains; and the stream continues so rapid, that it is impossible to pass. Had it not been for this accident, I must have been at Monghyr by the 14th instant, but now I have no expectations of seeing you till the 15th. The officers will, I hope, remain upon duty till my arrival; if you find they will not, the letter from the governor and council will instruct you how to act.

Your favour of the 10th leaves me without a doubt of the disposition of the men.

On the banks of the Tyrmohonny Nulla, 13th  
May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

P. S. I have this moment received yours of the 11th. With regard to detaching the troops, I leave it entirely to your discretion, as you upon the spot must be the best judge of the expediency of such a measure.

Clive.

No. 43.

Copy of sir Robert Fletcher's letter to lord Clive,  
dated at Monghyr, the 14th of May, 1766.

My lord,

I have been honoured with your lordship's letter of the 10th, accompanied by an answer from the governor and council to the officers address to me of the 1st instant; and you may be assured that I shall use my utmost diligence in endeavouring to keep the best of the subalterns of this brigade. I have this day begun the embarkation of the captains; and, to convince the subalterns that it is out of their power to leave us entirely destitute of officers, by adhering to their resolution of carrying their point to the utmost, I have appointed five ensigns; viz. Mr. Crawford, a surgeon's assistant, two cadets, and two sergeants. This, I think, may not only serve to shake their determination of proceeding to Calcutta, but will incite an emulation among the other sergeants, who may expect to be rewarded in proportion as they behave themselves.

Monghyr,  
14th May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. Fletcher.

No. 44.

Copy of a second letter from sir Robert Fletcher  
to lord Clive, of the same date with the above.

My lord,

I am this moment honoured by your lordship's letter of the 13th, and I have, in consequence, asked the officers to do duty a day longer. Some of them begin now to be very troublesome; and,

as far as I can find, they are resolved to encamp by themselves, until the arrival of the officers of the other brigades, so that I fear force must at last be used. I have not yet received their answer.

Monghyr,  
14th May, 1766, 1 P. M.

I am, &c.

Robt. Fletcher.

No. 45.

Copy of a third letter from sir Robert Fletcher to lord Clive, of the same date with the above.

My lord,

The officers have absolutely refused to serve an hour longer. During their last consultations to-day, the regiment got under arms, and the artillery were doing the same, and at first seemed determined to follow the officers; but when I began to speak to them, they assured me, they had been made to believe, that I was to head them; otherwise, not a man would have thought of turning out; adding, if that was not the case, they would not mind the officers, but live and die with me alone. While I was talking to the men, several of the officers came to the parade, and told me, that as they heard the Europeans had mutinied, they were willing to offer me their assistance; but I absolutely refused, in the face of the whole regiment, to have one of them, and ordered the whole to quit the garrison within the space of two hours, under pain of being sent off with guards. They are now, I believe, all gone.

Some have been very troublesome, and particularly those whom I have all along suspected, and whose confidence I used every art to gain, in January last, when I heard that the whole were to form a plan of quitting the brigades, without

giving any warning. I even went so far as to approve of some of their schemes, that they might do nothing without my knowledge. Several had this morning agreed to remain, at my request : but the rest began to suspect them, and they told me they were really in danger of their lives, if they did not proceed to Calcutta.

Monghyr,  
14th May, 1766, 8 P. M.

I am, &c.

Robt. Fletcher.

P. S. Lieut. Shrimpton is still here sick, and has agreed to stay. He is the best of the whole, and much of a gentleman,

No. 46.

Copy of a letter from sir Robert Barker to lord Clive, dated Bankipore, May 15th, 1766, 9 o'clock.

Your lordship's favours of 5th and 10th, I received yesterday.

This day the officers departed from their cantonments, notwithstanding which the regiment and seapoys appear as well disposed and regular as I ever saw them ; indeed, the men of the regiment have been overheard to declare, that if the officers were to leave me by myself, they would stand by me to a man.

I think, in the disposition our are people at present, I could march against any disaffected set of people with success.

I am, my lord,

Your lordship's, &c.

(signed) R. Barker.

P. S.

P. S. There is an oath taken, I am informed, by all the officers resigning, to preserve with their lives the security of the life of each individual. This oath has prevented numbers from returning to their duty, as they are apprehensive they may be obliged to officiate in measures contrary to their oath.

## No. 47.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to colonel Smith, dated at Monghyr, the 15th of May, 1766.

Sir,

I have received your letter addressed to the Select Committee, by which I am informed of the mutinous behaviour of the officers of your brigade, and inclosing your general orders, in consequence of several officers present, and upon actual service, and almost in the face of an enemy, desiring leave to resign their commissions.

Such a conduct, at such a juncture, does these officers as much dishonour as your spirited and soldierlike behaviour does you honour; and I am persuaded the whole board will join with me in acknowledging your services upon this very interesting occasion.

My last letter will be a guide for you how to act. Time and circumstances must be considered; but, that you may not be ignorant of what is going on in the other brigades, I must inform you, that on the 7th, the general and I, with several other officers, set out from Sydokbaug, and sent forward majors Champion and Polier, captains Smith and Pearson, who arrived here on the 11th. We should have been here ourselves by the 13th at night, or 14th in the morning, but the heavy rains filled the Nullas so considerably,



that we could not reach Monghyr before this morning. Yesterday afternoon, upon my having ordered all the captains down to Calcutta, the officers became very riotous ; and whilst they were holding their last consultations, the men began to get under arms, declaring they would follow their officers ; but upon captain Smith's marching down with a battalion of seapoys, and sir Robert Fletcher's haranguing them, they declared they understood all the officers were leaving the fort, headed by the commander ; but upon being assured to the contrary, they promised to behave as soldiers ought, and retired quietly to their barracks. The black seapoy officers, as well as men, have given great proofs of fidelity and steadiness upon this occasion ; and so long as they remain so, nothing is to be apprehended from the European soldiery, even if they should be mutinously inclined. Sir Robert Fletcher, having had reason to suspect some of the officers were concerned in stirring up the men, turned them all out of the fort ; they are now encamped at the distance of three miles, and I have ordered them to depart to-morrow morning.

The day after to-morrow, the general and myself, with ten or twelve officers, proceed with all expedition to Patna ; and after having settled every thing there, we shall proceed to Benares and Allahabad. Our chief anxiety is, least this disaffection, if known to the Morattoes, should encourage them to commit hostilities. We expect fifteen officers from Calcutta ; and I hope we shall be able to supply you in time with a sufficient number to keep your brigade in order until we receive relief from the Coast.

It

It would be proper, I think, for you to make known to your brigade, that I have lately lodged to the amount of near seventy thousand pounds (a legacy left me by Meer Jaffier) in the company's cash, the interest of which I have established as a fund for the support of officers and men, who may be disabled or worn out in the service.

\* To a colonel five hundred pounds per annum; to a lieutenant-colonel, three hundred pounds; to a major, two hundred pounds; to a captain, one hundred and fifty pounds; to a lieutenant, one hundred pounds; to an ensign, seventy pounds; to a sergeant, twenty pounds; to a coporal, fifteen pounds; and ten pounds to a private man; a part of which pensions is to be continued to their widows.

I have not yet acknowledged the receipt of your letter to the Select committee of the 5th instant; I shall approve of your remaining in the field to the last moment.

Monghyr,  
15th May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

No. 48.

Copy of lord Clive's letter to colonel Smith, dated at Monghyr, the 16th May, 1766.

Sir,

In my letter of last night, I forgot to mention that you might perhaps, on this occasion, judge it necessary to put a few very deserving sergeants in commission; that measure I leave entirely to your discretion.

\* This establishment was afterwards differently regulated by the company.

The

The principal point you have to guard is the fidelity of the men. If you discover they have been tampered with, or have good reason to suspect that any attempts will be made to seduce them, the officers should not be permitted to stay so long as the first of June; the sooner you get rid of them the better; and therefore you had best bring them to an immediate declaration upon that subject.

I have this morning had all the troops at Monghyr under arms, and made them a speech on the occasion. The seapoys are very firmly attached to their duty; and I am now confident that the Europeans likewise will give us no cause of complaint or apprehension. In short, every thing here is as quiet and as well regulated as could be wished.

Monghyr,  
16th May, 1766.

I am, &c.

Clive.

No. 49.

Copy of colonel Smith's letter to lord Clive, dated at camp, in the lines of Serrajepore, 17th of May, 1766.

My lord,

Already I have transmitted you a copy of my letter to the officers of the second regiment; enclosed you will receive a copy of their answer. I am by no means surprized at it, however extraordinary; for after they have forgot their duty to the public, what can their commanding officers expect? Those whom I first sent from the army having been deservedly reproached, have endeavoured to make a reproach, intended for themselves, to be regarded as general. The mea-  
sures

tures I have pursued, my own conscience approves : if I had twenty lives, I would sacrifice them all to support the civil administration ; for this appears the crisis.

I have been obliged to detach the 8th battalion of seapoys, at the request of major Smith, to march with all expedition to Allahabad, as he is apprehensive of some disturbances, after the officers have left the troops. I have forbid them at their peril to leave Allahabad, without my permission. If they do put their resolution into practice, I have directed the major to advise your lordship of this, or any thing extraordinary that may happen. The 8th battalion of seapoys will be at Allahabad the 20th, at midnight ; after which I shall be perfectly easy on the subject of mutiny from the regiments.

Lieutenant Vertue has disobeyed the major's orders of arrest, and says he had my consent to quit the camp, and that I received his commission : this I hope will best appear at a general court martial.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Camp in the lines of Serrajepore,  
the 17th May, 1766.

Richard Smith.

No. 50.

Copy of an anonymous letter to lieutenant Farmer, at Bankipore, dated New Fort, 6th May 1766.

Dear sir,

This waits to acquaint you of the unwelcome reception of the remonstrance sent in by the third brigade. They have made an advantage of its being

ing without date ; by which they conclude it was done without the consent or knowledge of sir Robert Barker : there are several other circumstances, which they have pulled to pieces, and are making it as bad as possible. We all glory in the military, for we hear they have put their commissions in a box, and have presented them to his lordship. I do not doubt but that you have heard of the five lacks he has given to the military ; a generous soul, to break their heads first, and then give them a plaister. I wish there was any good news to communicate ; but no news is best news now a days : you will excuse my signing my name, as I am liable to be suspended should this be opened, so will conclude myself,

Dear sir, your, &c.

New Fort, 6th May, 1766.

No. 51.

Copy of a letter from lord Clive and general Carnac to the council at Fort William, dated at Bankipore, the 29th of May, 1766.

Gentlemen,

We have this instant received a letter from major Smith, at Allahabad ; a copy of which comes enclosed. There needs no other proofs to convince you with how much insolence, disobedience, and disrespect, some of the officers have behaved ; and what fatal consequences would have happened to the Company, had we in any shape receded, or given up the least point to such a mutinous association.

The public declaration of all the officers, both at Monghyr and Patna, puts it beyond a doubt that many of the civilians have been deeply concerned

cerned in promoting the late combination, by encouraging them to persevere in their pernicious scheme, and promising them support and assistance : and if a subscription hath not been set on foot for the maintenance of all those officers who should resign their commissions, many of them will be greatly deceived, since they have been industriously taught to believe that they may depend upon a subscription to the amount of one hundred and forty thousand rupees.

It is some time ago that we judged it necessary to secure all the suspicious correspondence between Calcutta and the different brigades ; and yesterday, in packing up the intercepted letters, in order to send them down, we observed one which appeared to be in the hand-writing of Mr. Higginson, the sub-secretary, to enjoin Robertson, who hath been the principal ringleader of the second brigade, and who received all the officers commissions. This circumstance excited our suspicions ; and, upon opening the letter, we found them fully verified. That letter was dispatched last night by the president to Mr. Verelst, who will, without doubt, lay it before the board.

We beg leave to recommend to the council the opening of all suspicious letters ; every state in the world takes that liberty upon such dangerous occasions ; and we hope by that means this conspiracy may be traced to the fountain head.

We will venture to affirm, that letters of the officers of the army in Great Britain tending to excite them to mutiny, on any account whatever, would be deemed treasonable, and the authors condemned to die ; surely then you will concur with us in opinion, that the severest punishment

nishment our constitution will admit of, ought to be inflicted upon writers of letters of the like dangerous tendency in India.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Banbipore,  
29th May, 1766.

Clive.  
John Carnac.

No. 52.

Copy of an anonymous letter to ensign Robertson of the third brigade, dated at Calcutta, the 6th May, 1766.

Dear Robertson,

I wrote you last from Barrafet, a few days ago, in which I enclosed you a copy of a paper of Europe intelligence just received over land. Since when I am favoured with your letters of the 26th of March and 23d ultimo; the former by the hands of Mr. Read, accompanying the hookers and snakes, for your procuring of which I am much obliged to you. I also received from that gentleman the paper you mentioned to have sent me by him, which I found to be the same as that I acknowledged the receipt of in a former letter. You seem, by your last letter, to have sent me down a poetical version, in imitation of Horace, which I have not received, so fear it is gone the same way as many other letters have lately done—you may guess where. I sincerely wish you and your society all the success you can imagine, but am afraid of being more particular at such a critical time. We are here daily expecting to hear how your fate is to be decided, and many there are who are apprehensive of desperate measures being taken. If you have any thing particular

cular to write me, I think you had better do it in a disguised hand, without your name signed to it, as I shall know who it comes from, and I will do the same by you. We hear that his l—— has determined to accept your commissions, and sorry I am to tell you, that a report is current, that the whole board have concurred with him. Oh! what will not ambition and self-interest lead many men to do? Be assured that I am with great esteem sincerely yours.

Calcutta, 6th May, 1766.

A well-known Hand.

No. 53.

A copy of an anonymous letter to the officers of third brigade and army, without date.

You are very prudent, gentlemen, in acting as volunteers, a circumstance that will highly please his lordship, and assist him in dismissing you all, and to keep it a secret from the men, by whose assistance you can only be successful: for if they do not join, he is fully resolved not to give the point up to you, but accept of all commissions. What then will be the consequence if he gets the better of this? Eternal slavery and bondage, with shame to you all.—Let them join, and that will oblige him to come into your terms. You can always put a stop to them, before they do much mischief: but take care your terms are moderate. What a pimp yourc—I is, I wonder you don't flog him: can it be possible you have let Duffield, &c. be sent to Calcutta? If you have, you are a dastardly set. How will the civilians laugh at you if you don't get the better?

The



The following is a conversation between his lordship and the general, which send to the other brigades; I overheard it myself.

General. What will your lordship do with the army?

Clive. Hang one half for an example to the other.

General. How will you be provided with officers?

Clive. Send to Madrafs and Bombay for all they can spare; and make sergeants and corporals for the present.

General. Our sergeants and corporals will never do for officers.

Clive. They will do till we get better.

General. And when you have got better, what will your lordship do with them?

Clive. Why, reduce one half to their former station, and for fear the other half should be too strong, I will order them to Calcutta, clap them on board ships, and send them to Bencoolen, where they shall do private duty, as before.

General. Your lordship will be liable to prosecutions at home.

Clive. I'll be d—d then; for I'll send such instructions to the governor, that few shall remain to tell the story.

General. If the men join, what will you do?

Clive. By G-d I must give them their own terms; but the gentlemen, by acting as volunteers, seem determined to prevent that. Let them do so a little while longer, and by G-d Ill do for them.

The above is an absolute fact, but I cannot sign, for fear of discovery; however, the light is

is not truer. For God's sake act with spirit ;  
 else adieu, as military-men, to every thing !

Calcutta.

No. 54.

Copy of a letter from lord Clive and council to  
 colonel Smith, dated at Fort William, 6th  
 October, 1766.

S I R,

We are of opinion that the existence of the  
 East India company, in a great measure, de-  
 pends upon the maintaining an indisputable au-  
 thority over their military officers ; and many  
 late instances have convinced us, that it is neces-  
 sary every legal measure should be adopted that  
 can prevent the army, or any individuals thereof,  
 from assuming an independency. The mutiny  
 act being the only guide we have, whereby to  
 determine the nature and intent of the military  
 establishment for the East Indies, we could not  
 fail to recur to that act of parliament, as soon as  
 we were made acquainted with the mutinous as-  
 sociation of the officers. From hence it appear-  
 ed evidently to the board, as it also did to lord  
 Clive, and general Carnac, at Mootejyl, who sig-  
 nified the same to us, that the Company could  
 have no security for the services of their army,  
 unless by the obligation of contracts. His lord-  
 ship, even before the general resignation took  
 place, expressed his determination, that every  
 officer should, in future, enter into a contract to  
 serve for a limited time ; and his general orders  
 of the 23d of June, from Chuprah, contain a  
 O public

public declaration, that all those who had resigned, and might be restored, should be obliged to bind themselves to the service, in future, by a contract. Lord Clive, however, was pleased to promise an exception with regard to such gentlemen as had, by remaining firm to their duty, given sufficient proofs that they needed no other tie than that of honour to bind them to the due observance of military discipline; and indeed, had no such promise been made, the exception is in itself so equitable, that we could not reasonably have rejected it, if an application had been made on that head, by any who had not deviated from their duty. Our absolute determination now is, that the accompanying contract shall be executed without delay, by every officer respectively who resigned the service; and you are hereby directed to cause the same to be executed accordingly, signifying in public orders, an exception for the gentlemen who did not resign, as a testimony of the sense we entertain of their honourable and spirited conduct. You will, however, inform them, that, if they have no objection to join in the measure, the governor and council will consider their compliance as a farther mark of their zeal for the service; and the example set by you, will, we doubt not, have the desired effect.

The officers in general are to be assured, that no officer shall ever be refused leave to resign, except in such a case as lately happened, where there appears a combination to distress the service, and to force the governor and council into terms; or where the request is made with a view

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to evade an enquiry into any preceding misconduct.

We are, Sir, &c.

Fort William,  
6th October, 1766.

No. 55.

Copy of a contract, or engagement, to be signed by the military officers in the service of the East-India Company.

Know all men by these presents, that I A. B. for and in consideration of a captain's commission, in the service of the honourable united company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, to me given by the president and council of Fort William, in Bengal, in the East Indies; and the sum of            rupees to me in hand paid by the said president and council, the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, being the amount of one month's pay as captain in the service of the said honourable united East India Company, have contracted and agreed, and by these presents do covenant, contract, and agree, with the said president and council of Fort William, for and on the behalf of the said united East India Company, to serve them in a military capacity for the space of three years, to be computed from the day of the date hereof; and also, that I will not then, or at any other time, quit the said service without giving twelve months previous notice, in writing, of such my intentions, to the president and council of Fort William aforesaid, for the time being, and obtaining their permission for that purpose.

In

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In witness whereof I have hereunto set my  
hand and seal, at Calcutta in Bengal aforesaid,  
this                      day of                      in the year of our  
Lord

A. B.

Signed, sealed, and delivered,  
at Calcutta aforesaid, where  
no stamped paper is to be  
had, in the presence of

C. D.

E. F.